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GILDERSLEEVE-LODGE LATIN SERIES

D. IVNI IVVENALIS SATVRARVM

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Edited with Introduction Commentary on Thirteen Satires and Index

BY

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PREFACE

In preparing this edition I have had two distinct aims, to furnish the student who takes up Juvenal for the first time with everything necessary to the understanding of the author and his place in literature, and to offer to teachers and advanced students guidance and suggestion for a more detailed study of the Satires. Both Introduction and Commentary are accompanied by a series of footnotes, in which are contained alternative interpretations and critical discussions, as well as occasional references to standard sources and to recent literature bearing on Juvenal.

In the constitution of the text I have made use of all available critical materials, and in the case of the most difficult passages have usually stated in the notes the reasons for my preference. Apart from matters of punctuation the most important places in which I have ventured to differ from the last edition of Buecheler (1893) are 2, 106; 3, 322; 6, 167, 270, 415; 7, 12, 16, 24; 10, 295; 11, 148; 14, 113, 122, 216, 217; 15, 7. In these passages, with the exception of 6, 270, 415; 7, 16, 24; 10, 295; 11, 148; 14, 216, 217, I find myself in accord with Mr. S. G. Owen, whose Persius and Juvenal appeared several months after the text of the present edition was electrotyped.

I shall not attempt to make any detailed statement of my indebtedness to various sources of information; anyone who reads with care the Introduction and Commentary will rarely be uninformed on this point. Among the commentators the most helpful have been Mayor, Friedländer, and Duff, though most of the others from the time of Domizio Calderino to the present have been consulted. I gladly acknowledge also my

very great obligation to my friend and colleague, Professor Kirby Flower Smith, not only for the chapter on Metre, which is entirely his, but also for almost daily help and counsel for years; and to the editors of this series, especially to Professor Gildersleeve, who has read the proof sheets and added value to both Introduction and Commentary by many a helpful suggestion.

HARRY LANGFORD WILSON.

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY,
BALTIMORE, *May* 15. 1903.

INTRODUCTION

The Development of Roman Satire

1. **Origin.** The generally accepted derivation of *satura* is the adjective *satur*, whose origin and cognates are entirely in doubt.[1] The primary meaning of the word is 'sated,' with reference especially to food, and occasionally even to drink,[2] but its use as the designation of a literary type may perhaps be explained by means of the expressions *per saturam*, *lanx satura*, and *lex satura*.[3] In these phrases, with the idea of fulness there was developed the further notion of mixture or variety; for *per saturam* means 'confusedly,' 'without orderly arrangement,' *lanx satura* is a dish filled with various ingredients, and *lex satura* a law embodying a number of different provisions.[4] The most prominent idea, then, in this early use of the word *satura* is that of a medley or mixture, and this seems to have been in the mind of Juvenal when he spoke of his own work as a hotch-potch.[5] How *satura* came to have its literary application cannot be definitely ascertained; but it does not seem unnatural that a word which described a mixture of different kinds of food should be transferred to signify a literary medley—that is to

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[1] For attempts at derivation, both ancient and modern, see A. Funck, '*Satur*' *und die davon abgeleiteten Wörter*, in A.L.L. v, pp. 33–48; Lindsay, *Lat. Lang.*, p. 558, and Brugmann, *Vergl. Gram.*, 1^2, p. 173. *Satur* should be regarded as the earliest form attested in Latin, notwithstanding the Leyden gloss *pinguis : saturus* (Loewe, *Prod.*, p. 410). Other occurrences of *saturus* are given by Georges, *Lex. d. lat. Wortf.*

[2] *Satur = cibo plenus* in Plaut. *Capt.* 812, Ter. *Ad.* 765, Catull. 32, 10, etc.; *= ebrius* in Plaut. *Curc.* 362, Petron. fr. XXIX, 5, Mart. III, 58, 44, and Augustin. *Conf.* VI, 6, 9.

[3] For a discussion of these expressions and a collection of examples, see A. Funck, *l. l.* pp. 37 f.

[4] Cf. Paulus (p. 459 Thew.) *satura et cibi genus dicitur ex variis rebus conditum, et lex multis aliis conferta legibus.*

[5] I, 85 f. *quidquid agunt homines . . . nostri farrago libelli est.*

say, a work dealing with a variety of subjects in different metres or even in prose.[1]

2. **Roman claim to originality.** Every other class of Latin poetry is known by a Greek title; satire alone has a name distinctly Roman, and is based on no corresponding Greek type. For this reason the claim to originality[2] set up by Horace and Quintilian must, with some modification, be regarded as valid. When we say that satire is a genuine creation of the Roman genius, we do not mean that there are no satiric elements in Greek; for, from the beginning, Greek literature abounds in such elements. Nor do we mean to say that satire, unlike all other Latin poetry, was not largely influenced by Greek thought and Greek methods of expression; on the contrary, such influence was widespread, and was acknowledged by the Romans themselves.[3] But the Romans first recognized satire as a distinct literary type, saw its possibilities, and gave it development, and in this sense they were the creators of a new department.

3. **Early *satura*. Ennius. Varro.** The earliest form in which the *satura* existed at Rome cannot with certainty be determined. According to Livy[4] the term was used to indicate a dramatic performance of varied character, in which the old Italian verses of banter and ridicule, the so-called *versus Fescennini*, were combined with the dancing, music, and stage action learned from Etruscan actors brought to Rome in 364 B.C.[5] Whether this be true or not,

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[1] The author is thus regarded as a purveyor; the use of *satura* with *lex* also shows a metaphor of exactly the same sort. Compare our use of the word 'miscellany.'

[2] Hor. *Sat.* I, 10, 66 *Graecis intacti carminis;* Quintil. X, 1, 93 *satura quidem tota nostra est.*

[3] Th. Birt, *Zwei politische Satiren des alten Rom*, Marburg, 1888, pp. 10 ff.

[4] VII, 2, 4 ff.

[5] The correctness of Livy's account has in recent years been called in question by F. Leo, *Varro und die Satire*, in Hermes, XXIV, 1889, pp. 67–84, and by G. L. Hendrickson, *The Dramatic Satura and the Old Comedy at Rome*, in Am. Jour. Phil., XV, 1894, pp. 1–30; cf. ib. XIX, 1898, pp. 285–311. The former sees in Livy the unwarranted assumption of an early Roman parallel to the Greek satyr drama; the latter regards the passage as a pure invention based on the history of the old Attic comedy. Neither seems to have

the first *saturae* of which we have any knowledge, those of Q. Ennius (239–169 B.C.), are simply a collection of poems, in various metres, treating of various subjects. The same literary form was adopted by M. Terentius Varro of Reate (116–28 B.C.), in his *Saturae Menippeae*, which, though modelled to some extent after Menippus, yet in their general character differ little from the *saturae* of Ennius.

4. **Lucilius and his successors.** To C. Lucilius (180–103 B.C.), on the other hand, is ascribed the introduction of the element of personal criticism and invective, an element which is characteristic in varying degrees of the satiric writing of Horace, Petronius, Seneca, Persius, and Juvenal, and is an essential feature of satire in modern literature. At the same time, the conception of the *satura* as a medley seems never to have faded out of the Roman mind; for everywhere a wide range of subjects is admitted, and in Lucilius, Varro, and Petronius various metres are employed, though Persius and Juvenal, following the example of Horace, excluded all but the dactylic hexameter. The variety of subject, the personal element, the dramatic situation and occasional dialogue, the criticism of men and manners, and the colloquial style—the leading characteristics of the department—are all prominent in Juvenal, who must now be considered in more detail.[1]

Life of Juvenal

5. **Sources.** It is a remarkable fact that in the case of many a celebrated writer we are left almost entirely without

proved his point. For a brief defence of the traditional view, see H. M. Hopkins, *Dramatic Satura in Relation to Book Satura and the Fabula Togata*, in Proc. Am. Phil. Assoc., XXXI, 1900, pp. 1–li.

[1] Instead of giving a fuller treatment of the history of Roman satire, it seems sufficient for present purposes to refer the student to the excellent article on *Satira* contributed by E. M. Pease to Harper's Dictionary of Classical Literature and Antiquities, New York, 1897. H. Nettleship's essay, *The Original Form of the Roman Satura*, in Lectures and Essays, II, pp. 24–43, will also be found interesting. For a brief review of the whole field, see B. L. Gildersleeve's article on 'Satire' in Johnson's Universal Cyclopaedia.

reliable biographical detail. This is true of Juvenal, not, however, from any lack of evidence bearing on the subject, but because of the very uncertain character of most of the sources on which we must ultimately depend. These sources may be considered in the following order: Ancient biographies, an inscription from Aquinum, references in Martial, and the satires themselves.

6. **Ancient biographies.** The *vitae* found in the Mss. of Juvenal are as numerous as they are untrustworthy.[1] They give no dates for the poet's birth and death; they appear to be based to a considerable extent on doubtful interpretations of passages in the satires, and they are not free from manifest absurdities. In spite of many variations and discrepancies, all these biographies go back to one ancient source[2]; nearest to that source is the following *vita*, which in style and subject-matter is superior to the rest, and seems itself to be the authority for most of the statements found in the others.[3]

Vita D. Ivnii Ivvenalis.—Iunius Iuvenalis, libertini incertum est filius an alumnus, ad mediam fere aetatem declamavit animi magis causa quam quod se scholae aut foro praepararet. deinde paucorum versuum satura non absurde conposita in Paridem pantomimum poetamque eius semenstribus militiolis tumentem genus scripturae industriose excoluit. et tamen diu ne modico quidem auditorio quicquam committere est ausus. mox magna frequentia magnoque successu bis ac ter auditus est, ut ea quoque quae prima fecerat inferciret novis scriptis [7, 90]:

> quod non dant proceres, dabit histrio. tu Camerinos
> et Bareas, tu nobilium magna atria curas?
> praefectos Pelopea facit, Philomela tribunos.

erat tum in deliciis aulae histrio multique fautorum eius cottidie provehebantur. venit ergo Iuvenalis in suspicionem, quasi tempora figurate

[1] Twelve are edited by J. Dürr, *Das Leben Juvenals*, Ulm, 1888, pp. 22–5. Seven of these are found also in the edition of Jahn, 1851.

[2] Dürr, *l. l.* p. 5. [3] F. Buecheler, edition of 1893, p. 234.

notasset, ac statim per honorem militiae quamquam octogenarius urbe summotus est missusque ad praefecturam cohortis in extrema parte tendentis Aegypti. id supplicii genus placuit, ut levi atque ioculari delicto par esset. verum intra brevissimum tempus angore et taedio periit.

This *vita*,[1] added by a later hand at the end of the *codex Pithoeanus*, and found also in a considerable number of other Mss., was probably compiled in the fourth or fifth century by the commentator known as the Probus of Valla.[2] Most of its statements seem to have no better foundation than untrustworthy tradition and unwarranted inference from passages in the satires.[3] The first sentence, however, contains details which could not easily be inferred from the poet's works,[4] and, judged from the point of view of expression, may well be derived from some authority much nearer the time of Juvenal.

7. **The inscription of Aquinum.** From the neighborhood of Aquinum comes an inscription,[5] existing now only in copy, dedicated to Ceres by one Juvenal who is generally believed to be identical with the author of the satires.[6] It reads as follows :

*Cere*RI · SACRVM
*d . iu*NIVS · IVVENALIS
trib. COH · *i* · DELMATARVM
II · VIR · QVINQ · FLAMEN
DIVI · VESPASIANI
VOVIT · DEDICAV*itq*VE
SVA PEC

[1] Dürr's I a = Jahn's I. [2] For a brief account of this Probus, see § 34.

[3] The reference to Egypt is probably due to inference from the fifteenth satire (note on 15, 45) ; cf. the expression *semenstribus militiolis tumentem* with 7, 88 f.

[4] But see F. I. Merchant, Am. Jour. Phil., XXII, 1901, pp. 51 ff., who tries to show that even these details might have been deduced from the satires.

[5] C.I.L. X, 5382 = I.R.N. 4312 = Dessau, 2926. The portions printed in italics are supplied by the editors.

[6] This identification is denied by H. J. de Dompierre de Chaufepié, *De titulo I.R.N. 4312 ad Iuvenalem poetam perperam relato*, Hagae Comitis, 1889, and doubted by W. v. Christ, Sitzungsb. bayr. Akad., 1897, I, pp. 142 f., and by J. D. Duff.

"In honor of Ceres D. Iunius Iuvenalis, tribune of the first cohort of Dalmatians, *duumvir quinquennalis*, priest of the deified Vespasian, vowed and dedicated (this offering) at his own expense." In favor of this identification it may be observed that the satirist closely associates himself with Aquinum[1] and mentions Ceres in the same connection. If we may assume, moreover, that Juvenal, like most men of his time, saw service in the army in his youth, the many references to military life in the satires thus find a ready explanation. But in the absence of the praenomen it must be acknowledged that we are on uncertain ground; for the municipal official of the inscription might as well be the father, brother, or some other relative of the poet.

8. **Martial.** A third source of information is Martial, the only writer of the first three centuries who mentions the name of Juvenal.[2] That the two poets were on terms of friendship, and even of intimacy, seems a safe inference from the three epigrams that come in question.[3] In the seventh book, published in the year 92, Juvenal is called *facundus*,[4] which without doubt refers only to his ability as an orator; for all signs point to his having published none of the satires until a much later date.[5] About the year 100, after Martial had finally retired from Rome to his native place in Spain, he writes to Juvenal as follows:

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xxi, who believe that 'the local magnate of Aquinum was not the poet himself, but a kinsman by blood or adoption.' Cf. E. Hübner, Woch. f. klass. Phil., VI, 1889, col. 1343.

[1] 3, 319; cf. §§ 12, 13.

[2] The only other references to Juvenal in Latin literature—aside from quotations or reminiscences of the satires during the fourth and following centuries (cf. § 27)—are made by Sidonius Apollinaris, IX. 269 ff., who mentions Ovid's banishment in the same sentence with that of Juvenal (cf. § 15), by Ammianus, XXVIII, 4, 14, who informs us that Juvenal was diligently studied in the fourth century, and by Rutilius Namatianus, I, 604, who merely mentions the name of the satirist.

[3] VII, 24 *cum Iuvenale meo;* ib. 91, and XII, 18.

[4] *Facundus* is, of course, frequently used of poets; cf. Vollmer's note on Stat. *Sil.* I, 2, 3.

[5] On date of publication of the satires, see §§ 10 f.

Dum tu forsitan inquietus erras
Clamosa, Iuvenalis, in Subura,
Aut collem dominae teris Dianae;
Dum per limina te potentiorum
Sudatrix toga ventilat vagumque
Maior Caelius et minor fatigant:
Me multos repetita post Decembres
Accepit mea rusticumque fecit
Auro Bilbilis et superba ferro.[1]

Here there is no hint that Juvenal has devoted himself to literary pursuits, nothing but the contrast between the quiet restfulness of the Spanish town and the wearisome duties of the client in the capital.

9. **The satires as a biographical source.** When we look into the satires for information with regard to the life of their author, we should use discretion; for a poet is not necessarily his own biographer. Many a picture which he presents may be purely literary, due to the influence of department or of other writers, and may have no existence in fact. Even what seems to have a direct personal reference should not in all cases be regarded as authoritative. We may reasonably expect, however, to draw from the satires some inferences with regard to the poet's education and character[2] and to fix approximately the period of his literary activity.

10. **Dates of publication.** Juvenal, like many other ancient writers, published his satires in books at different times, and apparently in the order in which they now stand in the Mss. In the first book (*Sat.* 1–5) the latest indication of time is the reference to the condemnation of Marius Priscus, which took place in the year 100.[3] Hence these satires as a whole must have been published after that date, in all probability several years after, unless we are to separate the publication of the first book from that of the second by an unnaturally long

[1] XII, 18, 1–9. [2] For discussion of these points, see §§ 13 and 17 ff.
[3] I, 49; cf. Plin. *Ep.* II, 11; 12, 1; III, 9, 2–4; VI, 29, 9; *ad Trai.* 3 a.

interval.[1] The available evidence for fixing the date of the second book (*Sat.* 6) consists of the reference to earthquakes and floods in the far East and to a comet which portended disaster to the Armenian and Parthian kings.[2] On the basis of the records of Chinese astronomers, Friedländer[3] argues with great probability that the comet referred to is one which was visible at Rome in November of the year 115, for the campaign of Trajan against the Parthians was undertaken in the next year.[4] In December, 115, also, the city of Antioch suffered severely from earthquake. If these are really the phenomena to which Juvenal refers, it is perfectly clear that the second book (*Sat.* 6) was published in the year 116 or soon after.[5] The third book (*Sat.* 7–9) is introduced by the statement that the prospects of intellectual pursuits depend on the favor of the emperor. Nothwithstanding much discussion and argument to the contrary, there is no reason to doubt that the reference is to Hadrian, whose accession took place in 117.[6] After this date, then, but before the year 121, when Hadrian left Rome for an extensive tour of the provinces, the third book was published, probably in 119 or 120. The fifth book (*Sat.* 13–16) contains two distinct chronological references[7] by which the date of its publica-

[1] Friedländer (ed. of Juvenal, p. 14) assigns the publication of the first book to the period between 112 and 116; F. Haverfield, on the other hand, thinks that these earlier satires, which 'reek of Domitian's reign,' were published soon after 100 (Class. Rev., XII, 1898, p. 51). These are the extremes; as usual, the truth probably lies between.

[2] 6, 407 ff. [3] Ed. of Juvenal, pp. 8 f.

[4] The Armenian campaign, it is true, was ended in 114, but a comet might be regarded as the precursor of disaster of other kinds: cf. Suet. *Nero*, 36 *stella crinita, quae summis potestatibus exitium portendere vulgo putatur.*

[5] The stability of these conclusions has recently been questioned by J. Jessen, Philologus, LIX, 1900, p. 513.

[6] O. Ribbeck (ed. of Juvenal, p. x), Teuffel-Schwabe-Warr (Hist. of Rom. Lit., §330, 2), and others, citing Pliny, *Pan.* 47, believed that Trajan was the Caesar of the seventh satire, though the History of Roman Literature just mentioned contradicts itself in the next section and says Hadrian (§331, 4). H. Nettleship (Lect. and Essays, Second Series, pp. 132 ff. = Jour. of Phil., XVI, 1888, pp. 55 ff.) argued vigorously but not convincingly for Domitian. Cf. the introduction to the seventh satire.

[7] 13, 17 *sexaginta annos Fonteio consule natus;* 15, 27 *nuper consule Iunco;* see notes on these passages.

tion is assigned to the year 128 or a time not much later. As there is no evidence by which the fourth book (*Sat.* 10-12) may be dated, it is naturally assigned to the period between the third and fifth, possibly about 125.

11. **Date of earliest compositions.** The order of the books, then, is doubtless chronological, but it should not be inferred that the same is true of the individual satires. In the first book—leaving out of consideration the first satire, which, as a preface, was probably written last of all—the latest event to which reference is made is the murder of Domitian (96 A.D.)[1] For this and other reasons certain scholars have assumed that Juvenal wrote some of these earlier satires during Domitian's reign.[2] Though absolute certainty is unattainable, it should be observed that several circumstances point strongly to a later date. The statement of the *vitae*,[3] the silence of Martial as late as the year 100[4] with regard to any literary activity on the part of Juvenal, and the general tone of the satires themselves, looking back, as they do, on the past, often on the remote past, are best explained if we assume that Juvenal not only did not publish satires, but did not write them until after the accession of Trajan.[5] If this inference is correct, the period of Juvenal's literary activity may be said to cover approximately the first three decades of the second century.

12. **Name; date and place of birth.** The full name of the poet, Decimus Iunius Iuvenalis, is derived from the subscriptions found at the end of different books of the satires in several of the Mss.[6] In one of the ancient *vitae*

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[1] 4, 153.

[2] The extreme view in this direction was that of H. Nettleship, who made this claim for 'many of the earlier satires' (*l. l.* pp. 131 ff.); for other opinions, see Am. Jour. Phil., XIX, 1898, p. 194, n. 2.

[3] *ad mediam fere aetatem declamavit* (§ 6).

[4] XII, 18, quoted in § 8. This fact is worthy of more emphasis than it has received.

[5] 98 A.D. These remarks are based in part on my article in Am. Jour. Phil., XIX, 1898, p. 194.

[6] *Parisinus*, 9345 (*saec.* XI), *Vossiani*, 18 (*saec.* X) and 64 (*saec.* XI); cf. Hosius, *Apparatus criticus ad Iuvenalem*, Bonn, 1888, pp. 21, 45. In the *Bodleianus* (*Canon*

the praenomen is given as Marcus, which should perhaps be explained as a reminiscence of the well-known name M. Iunius Brutus.[1] With regard to the date of Juvenal's birth there has been wide divergence of opinion.[2] If we accept the statement of the ancient biographies that he practised declamation until middle life,[3] then, by a backward calculation from the time when the satires began to be published, we may arrive approximately at the date sought. If the first book was published about the year 105, and Juvenal was then in middle life, he must have been born not long before the year 60. There seems no reason to doubt that his birthplace was Aquinum in Latium, the town near which the inscribed tablet[4] set up by Iunius Iuvenalis was found and with which the poet's allusion in the third satire shows intimate acquaintance.[5]

13. **Early life.** With regard to Juvenal's social position, the only direct evidence is the statement of the ancient biographies that he was the son, or adopted son, of a rich freedman.[6] Whether this be true or not, he seems to have

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Lat. XLI) we read at the end of the second book: *Decimici iunii iuvenalis satirarum liber ii explicit.* The praenomen *Decimus* is attested also by the scholiast of *P* in a note on the *vita* which is given in § 6.

[1] This is suggested by Dürr, *l. l.* p. 9.

[2] Teuffel in Pauly's *Real-Encycl.*, IV, p. 537, gave 42 as the date: on the other hand, Friedländer, *De Iuvenalis vitae temporibus*, Königsberg, 1875, argued for 67, and almost every date between has found its advocate. In his edition, however, Friedl. (p. 15) assigns the poet's birth to a time not long before and not long after the year 60. A *vita* published by Dürr (*l. l.* p. 28) from the end of a MS. (*saec.* XV) in the Palazzo Barberini at Rome, besides giving the names of the poet's mother, sister, and teachers, as well as other details, assigns a definite date for his birth, *Claudio Nerone et L. Antistio consulibus*, i.e. 55 A.D. But this biography bears on its face the marks of its late origin, and probably rests on no more secure foundation than the fertile imagination of some scholar of the fifteenth century.

[3] This statement is supported by 1, 25, evidently written by a man no longer young.

[4] The inscription referred to is given in § 7.

[5] 3, 319, where Umbricius, addressing Juvenal, says *tuo Aquino*. All the *vitae*, except the best one, call the poet *Aquinas*, but this is probably no more than an inference from the passage just cited.

[6] See § 6. But this statement is rejected by F. I. Merchant, Am. Jour. Phil., XXII, 1901, pp. 57 f., on the ground that Juvenal's openly expressed hatred for freedmen as a class precludes the possibility that he was himself a freedman's son.

spent his early life at Rome, where he received the regular education of the schools.[1] That his rhetorical studies were long-continued is stated by the *vitae*, and could easily be inferred from the satires themselves, which abound in *sententiae* and stock illustrations, and, especially in the later books, are more like moral essays or declamations than real satires.[2] Among his teachers may have been Quintilian,[3] whom he several times mentions with greatest reverence. During this earlier part of his life he may have heard the recitations of the poet Statius, to whom he gives the warmest praise,[4] and he was certainly on terms of intimacy with Martial.[5] Moreover, like Martial, he was, for a time at least, a client or dependent, looking for support to rich patrons.[6] Yet it must not be supposed that he was poor; for he had inherited an estate,[7] probably at Aquinum, and seems to have possessed considerable resources. At a later time he owned a country place at Tibur[8] and a house in Rome,[9] where he lived in comfort though not in luxury.[10]

14. **Service in the army.** As we cannot with certainty identify the satirist with the Juvenal of the inscription,[11] we are not justified in making the positive assertion that he was ever in the army. The *vitae* seem to exclude the idea of military service by their statement that he was devoted to rhetorical studies till middle life.[12] Yet several facts point strongly to the conclusion that Juvenal knew the life of a

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[1] I, 15–7; see notes there.

[2] The striking differences in both style and subject between the first nine satires, which, as a rule, attack the society of the poet's time, and the later poems, which discuss abstract subjects, such as revenge, avarice, and parental influence, led O. Ribbeck to propound his extravagant theory that the tenth and the last five satires were not the work of Juvenal, but of some unknown rhetorician (*Der echte und der unechte Juvenal*, Berlin, 1865). This brilliant philological pyrotechnic, which furnished opportunity for a number of counter-displays in doctoral dissertations, should never have been taken seriously.

[3] See note on 7, 186. [4] 7, 82 ff. [5] Cf. § 8.

[6] 1, 99 ff.; 3, 187 ff.; and especially Mart. XII, 18, quoted in § 8. [7] 6, 57.

[8] 11, 65. [9] 11, 190; 12, 87 ff. [10] 11, 131 ff. [11] Cf. § 7.

[12] F. I. Merchant, *l. l.* pp. 51 ff., argues strongly that even this statement of the *vitae* is unworthy of credence.

soldier by experience. His indignation at the promotion of the unworthy to important military posts,[1] his familiar references to centurions and other officers,[2] as well as his evident intimacy with the details of camp life,[3] all point in that direction. He displays, too, a knowledge of various outlying provinces of the empire,[4] especially of Britain,[5] which is easily explained on the assumption that he had visited different parts of the world in a military capacity.[6] It seems likely, then, that Juvenal had served in the army, though, if we leave the inscription out of consideration, there is nothing to suggest his rank or the duration of his service.

15. **Banishment.** One of the most perplexing questions in connection with the life of Juvenal is that of his banishment.[7] The *vitae* agree that he was banished on account of verses directed against the actor Paris, a favorite of Domitian,[8] and this tradition was so firmly established by the fifth century that Apollinaris Sidonius[9] could refer to Juvenal as *irati histrionis exul* and expect to be understood.[10] But while they agree as to the fact and the cause, the ancient biographies differ widely in regard to time and place. Some say that at the age of eighty years the satirist was sent under pretext of a military command to a distant part of Egypt; another says that he was despatched to Scotland, where he soon died of chagrin. According to one story, Trajan was the emperor who ordered his banishment; according to others, Nero or Domitian. With so many contradictory accounts and no convincing evidence, it is of course impossible to be sure of our ground. But we do not need evidence to convince us that no important command on a frontier of the empire can

[1] 1, 58 ff.; 7, 92. [2] 2, 165; 3, 132; 14, 193, 197. [3] *Sat.* 16, *passim.*
[4] 10, 194; 11, 124 ff.; 13, 163; 14, 196; 15, 5, 45 ff., 125; cf. note on 15, 45.
[5] 2, 161; 4, 126, 141; 10, 14; 14, 196.
[6] Cf. E. Hübner, Woch. f. klass. Phil., VI, 1889, col. 1343-5.
[7] Chr. Strack, *De Iuvenalis exilio*, Laubach, 1880; K. Rittweger, *Die Verbannung Juvenals und die Abfassungszeit seiner VII. Satire*, Bochum, 1886.
[8] 7, 90 ff. [9] IX, 273; cf. p. x, n. 2.
[10] The exile is mentioned also in the scholia on 1, 1; 4, 38; 7, 92.

have been intrusted to a man of eighty, and the satires themselves indicate with sufficient clearness that during the latter half of his life Juvenal was almost constantly in Rome. In the reign of Domitian, however, he may have been banished for the reason assigned [1] or for some other cause unknown to us, or his appointment to some distant post during the term of his military service may have given rise to the story. On the whole, it seems possible that the tradition of the exile rests on good foundation, while the statements of time, place, and cause are merely deductions from various passages of the satires.[2]

16. **Death.** The exact date of Juvenal's death cannot be determined. We have seen that he was writing as late as the year 128; if we may accept as well founded the tradition in several of the *vitae* that he lived to be eighty or more years of age, his decease may be placed in the latter half of the next decade (135–140).

17. **Knowledge of philosophy.** Though the poems of Juvenal do not furnish much information with regard to the life of their author, they do offer a substantial basis on which to form an estimate of his mental equipment and of some aspects of his character. In the first place, his philosophical knowledge is of the most elementary kind. By nature he was not much given to reflection, but was preeminently an observer who regarded the passions and activities of men with the greatest interest.[3] Hence we are not surprised to learn that he never studied the doctrines of the philosophical schools,[4] though, like most rhetoricians, he shows a superficial acquaintance with their chief tenets. For Juvenal, however, philosophy was little more than the

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[1] Cf. Vahlen, *Juvenal und Paris*, in Sitzungsb. d. preuss. Akad. d. Wiss., 1883, p. 1192, who thinks that the passage in question (7, 88–92) belongs to the satire as published under Hadrian and has no connection with any banishment.

[2] See p. ix, notes 3 and 4. E. Hübner, *l. l.* col. 1374–6 utterly disbelieved the whole tradition and could find in Juvenal's life no place for a period of exile.

[3] 1, 85 f.; 14, 256 ff. [4] 13, 120 ff.

highest practical wisdom, which forbids revenge, enables men to rid themselves of faults and errors, and points out to them the right.[1] Her teachings, which are always in harmony with those of nature,[2] enjoin submission to fortune and patient endurance of the ills of life.[3] Juvenal was naturally more inclined to the theories of Stoicism than to those of any other school. His belief in fate[4] as an inexorable power controlling human life and in the far-reaching influence of the conjunction of the planets at the birth of the individual,[5] beliefs which were widespread at Rome in his day,[6] have their root in the Stoic philosophy. From the same source are derived his views on the interest of the gods in human affairs, on the wise man's freedom from anger and desire, and on the importance of courage in the face of trouble and death.[7]

18. **Religious views.** The religious attitude of Juvenal may, on the whole, be defined as liberal. He speaks of a common creator of all things,[8] and implies his belief in one controlling force that directs the movements of the universe.[9] We find him, however, offering sacrifice to Juppiter, Juno, and Minerva, and also to his own Lares, for the rescue of Catullus from shipwreck.[10] He believes in the tortures of a guilty conscience[11] and in ultimate retribution for crime,[12] and says that man is differentiated from the brutes by his capacity to worship and to apprehend the divine.[13] Moreover, he sets up the highest moral standard in asserting that the true seat of guilt lies not in the act but in the intention and motive.[14] On the other hand, Juvenal has no sympathy with literal interpretations of the tales of Greek

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[1] 13, 187 ff. [2] 14, 321. [3] 13, 19 ff.

[4] 2, 16; 9, 32; 10, 129; 11, 105; 12, 63; 14, 158; notes on 7, 199 f.

[5] 7, 200; 9, 33; 10, 313; 16, 4; notes on 7, 195 and 14, 248.

[6] A. G. Harkness, Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc., XXX, 1899, pp. 70 ff., 83 ff.

[7] 10, 346 ff. [8] 15, 148. [9] 13, 87.

[10] 12, 3–6 and 89 f.; Ceres, too, may be included, if we identify the satirist with the author of the inscription of Aquinum (§ 7).

[11] 13, 193 f. [12] 13, 247 f. [13] 15, 142 ff. [14] 13, 208 ff.

mythology; he regards the stories of the infernal regions as utterly unworthy of belief,[1] and never takes seriously a debased or anthropomorphic conception of the gods.[2] Foreign cults, so popular at Rome in his day, met with his strong disapproval[3]; and especially Judaism, with its more mysterious and spiritual worship, never fully understood by the Romans, was by him regarded as a narrow and exclusive superstition.[4]

19. **Hatred of foreigners.** One of the most marked characteristics of Juvenal was the shortsighted patriotism which led him to regard all foreigners with contempt. "The versatile and ingenious Greek," he says, "by flattery and deceit everywhere takes precedence of the freeborn Roman,[5] who is driven from the favor of his patron by the intrigues of this monster of treachery and lust;[6] in short, there is no place for the Roman in a city where the influence of the Greek is paramount."[7] Such bitter reflections may well have been the result of personal experience in the days when Juvenal as a client haunted the halls of the rich; at any rate, it is clear that they spring from the heart. Strong, however, as was his dislike for the Greeks, still stronger was his aversion to Orientals,[8] especially to the Egyptians, against whom he vents his spite in the fifteenth satire.[9] In this horde of barbarians[10] Crispinus stands preëminent, Juvenal's peculiar 'vessel of wrath.' This monster, whose vices were not relieved by any virtue,[11] may possibly, through his great influence with Domitian, have been the cause of disappointment or loss to the satirist, who, now that the imperial favorite is no longer to be dreaded, gives full expression to his loathing and contempt.[12]

20. **Summary.** On the whole we see in Juvenal a man of

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[1] 2, 149 ff. [2] 6, 15, 59; 13, 39 ff., 83; 14, 271; 16, 5, etc. [3] 2, 111; 6, 526 ff.
[4] 14, 96 ff. [5] 3, 81 ff. [6] 3, 109–25. [7] 3, 119 f.
[8] 1, 102 ff.; 3, 62 ff.; 7, 13 ff., etc. [9] Cf. 1, 130 f. and introd. to *Sat.* 15.
[10] 15, 46. [11] 4, 2 f. [12] Cf. 1, 26 and 4, 1–33, with introd. and notes.

serious temperament,[1] good education, and high character, inspired by a genuine, though narrow patriotism, filled with an earnest admiration for the simple manners of the past,[2] and therefore with an intense hatred for the degeneracy of the present, swayed by a moral indignation[3] which is perfectly genuine, though at times grossly exaggerated,—in short, not a genius of the highest order, but a man endowed with unusual gifts of both mind and heart.

Juvenal the Satirist

21. **Point of view.** In the first satire, which serves as a preface to the first book, Juvenal lays before the reader his programme and gives some indications of his method and point of view. Living in the midst of such degeneracy and corruption, he says that it is difficult for him not to write satire.[4] Never was vice so prevalent, extravagance so general:[5] never did the possession of wealth so quickly elevate the most degraded to the highest honor.[6] Still, it is dangerous to attack the living, as Lucilius did;[7] the satirist therefore decides to turn his attention to the men of a former time.[8] Are we to understand from this that he intended to satirize the persons and morals of the present, under the pretence of attacking those of the past? When the first satire was published, in the earlier part of the reign of Trajan,[9] conditions, in some respects at least, could not possibly have been so bad as Juvenal depicts.[10] At the same time it must be admitted that in any great capital, even under the most favorable circumstances, there is abundant material to occupy the pen

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[1] There is in Juvenal scarcely anything that can be called humor: of humorous situations there is no lack (*e. g.* I, 123 ff.), but they are usually presented in such a way as to arouse indignation rather than ridicule. Cf., however, J. Jessen, *Witz und Humor im Juvenal*, in Philologus, XLVII, 1888, pp. 320–7; F. S. Dunn, *Juvenal as a Humorist*, in Proc. Am. Phil. Assoc., XXXI, 1900, p. xlix.

[2] II, 77 ff.; 14, 156–75. [3] I, 30 f., 79 f. [4] I, 22–30. [5] I, 87–95.
[6] I, 105–10. [7] I, 150–8. [8] I, 170–1. [9] Cf. § 10.

[10] It should be remembered that the virtuous and agreeable society with which we become acquainted in the Epistles of Pliny belongs to the same period.

of the satirist. Much more may this be said of Rome, with its great wealth, its large proletariat which had to be fed and amused at public cost, and its hordes of slaves who were sapping the very foundations of the empire by corrupting the home, the fountain of national strength. Nevertheless it seems likely that Juvenal, at least in those satires which are not purely general, had before his eye for the most part only the past, sometimes the distant past known to him only from history, but as a rule the reign of Domitian, during which his own early manhood was passed. His peculiar confusion of past and present might be illustrated by many examples. In *Satire* 13, 157, which was published later than 127,[1] he mentions Rutilius Gallicus, the *praefectus urbi*, as if still living and discharging the duties of his office. But Gallicus died in 91 or 92, having been *praefectus urbi* some four or five years earlier.[2] Crispinus, the favorite of Domitian[3]; Latinus, the actor[4]; Paris, the dancer,[5] all of them long since dead, move before us as contemporaries of the poet; and, to go farther back, Sophonius Tigellinus,[6] the wanton and cruel favorite of Nero, is chosen as a type of the influential man whom it would be dangerous to attack.

22. **Immorality of upper classes satirized.** But Juvenal would produce an entirely false and one-sided impression of the Rome of the first century if we should fail to observe that almost without exception his satire is directed against the wealthy, the powerful, and the higher classes of society. Especially in the first three books are they assailed under various names,[7] and accused of every conceivable form of crime.[8] The women of noble birth come in for their share of condemnation in the sixth satire, in which there passes before our eyes a series of vivid pictures hardly to be paralleled in literature for lurid coloring and disgusting

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[1] Cf. § 10. [2] See note on the passage and Vollmer on Stat. *Sil.* 1, 4, especially p. 282
[3] § 19. [4] 1, 36; 6, 44. [5] 6, 87; 7, 87. [6] 1, 155.
[7] Cf. Friedländer, p. 20, n. 1. [8] 1, 67 f.; 2, 66 ff.; 3, 14 ff., 142, 144, etc.

detail. But we should not suppose that in Rome every man was a Nero and every woman a Julia; for Juvenal doubtless chose the most striking examples to illustrate and enforce his argument. History does not often occupy herself with simple virtue, but she has fortunately given us refreshing glimpses of sterling manhood, pure and noble womanhood, and domestic peace,[1] which serve to show that private life in the first century was not in all quarters so degenerate as Juvenal alone might lead us to suppose.

23. **Lack of moral perspective.** What strikes us as most peculiar in Juvenal's attitude toward moral questions is his lack of perspective; his fiercest indignation is aroused by the slightest faults.[2] The youth who squanders his resources on fast horses is just as bad as the husband who fattens on the proceeds of his wife's dishonor—perhaps worse, because he actually holds the reins himself[3]; and the most unspeakable and unnatural vices are far less monstrous than the public appearance of a nobleman as a gladiator.[4] Nothing is more evident than that Juvenal lacked a fine discrimination in moral questions and made little effort to distinguish varying degrees of guilt.

24. **Use of personal names.** The large number of personal names in the satires makes it necessary to raise the question whether or not Juvenal always refers to real persons. Of course, many well-known historical characters figure in these pages: Seianus,[5] the powerful *praefectus praetorio* of Tiberius; Pallas,[6] Posides,[7] and Narcissus,[8] the freedmen of Claudius; Lucusta[9] the poisoner, Tigellinus[10] the boon companion of Nero, Crispinus[11] the court favorite, Rutilius Gallicus[12] the *praefectus urbi*, and other prominent figures of the reign of Domitian. Of men eminent

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[1] Evidence of this may be found especially in inscriptions, for which, of course, space may not here be taken.

[2] Cf. Duff, ed. of Juvenal, p. xxxvii. [3] 1, 55–62. [4] 2, 143 ff.
[5] 10, 63. [6] 1, 109. [7] 14, 91. [8] 14, 329.
[9] 1, 71. [10] 1, 155. [11] 1, 27; cf. § 19. [12] 13, 157; cf. § 21.

in literature Juvenal mentions Lucan,[1] Quintilian,[2] and Statius,[3] but has no reference either to his friend Martial or to the other famous writers of the period. But, apart from such names as represent well-known persons, there are many names, appearing in Juvenal alone or in both Juvenal and Martial, which are unknown from other sources.[4] For example, Matho in 1, 32 is a lawyer, in 7, 129 a bankrupt, in 11, 34 a mouthing orator; in these, however, as in many other similar cases, there is nothing to show that the same individual is meant. On the whole, it seems likely that those names which cannot be connected with persons known to history are, at least in many instances, purely fictitious and were taken at random to represent certain more or less clearly defined types.[5]

25. **Juvenal's treatment of the *satura*.** In devoting himself to the composition of satire Juvenal claims to be a follower of Lucilius and of Horace[6]; but, while preserving the tradition of the department in certain respects unbroken, he developed some features of the *satura* in a way entirely his own. He did not allow himself the variety of metres employed by Ennius, Lucilius, Varro, and Petronius; but, following the example of Horace, confined himself to the dactylic hexameter. And yet the hexameter of Juvenal is a very different verse from that of Lucilius or even of Horace. Instead of the rather rough and careless metre of the earlier satirists, with its frequent elisions and metrical licenses, we find in Juvenal the more polished, stately, and sonorous rhythm which was characteristic of the epic poetry of his time and which was based on imitation of Vergil. The medley of subjects treated, which

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[1] 7, 79. [2] 6, 75, 280; 7, 186 ff. [3] 7, 83.

[4] Friedländer (ed. p. 100), arguing from the assumption that a recurring name in Juvenal regularly indicates the same person each time, comes to the conclusion that the satirist usually introduces real persons and gives them their true names. But this assumption is not warranted by the evidence.

[5] Cf. A. Gercke, Gött. gel. Anz., 1896, pp. 977 f. [6] 1, 20, 51.

was in the early period an essential feature of the *satura* and was accepted as such by Horace, Juvenal also recognized,[1] and in this respect he conformed to the practice of his predecessors. In his case, however, the general effect is so modified by the constant presence of the spirit of censure, especially in the earlier books, which alone can be said to contain real satires, that we are not so much impressed by the variety of subject as by the uniformity of treatment. The element of dialogue, also, which was quite regular in the early stages and was largely introduced by Horace, takes a less prominent place in Juvenal. The ninth satire is the only real dialogue, the third is a long monologue with the necessary introduction and conclusion, and fragments of dialogue are found in the first.[2] Thus we see that while dealing independently with the *satura* and developing it to some extent along lines peculiar to himself, he was yet not entirely unmindful of the example of his predecessors in this field.

26. **Reminiscences of other poets.** Like most other poets of his time, Juvenal was doubtless a diligent student of literature, both Greek and Roman. His use of Homeric names and comparisons[3] and his occasional reminiscences of Lucilius, Ovid, Petronius, Seneca,[4] and other writers, which are pointed out from time to time in the commentary, furnish good ground for this statement. But there are authors whose greater influence on the satirist calls for special remark; namely, Vergil,[5] Horace,[6] and Martial.[7] When we remember that by the latter part of the first century Vergil and Horace were the text-books of every Roman schoolboy,[8] we are not surprised to find echoes of these poets everywhere in the literature of the period. In the

[1] 1, 86. [2] 1, 100–26, 150–71. [3] 1, 43, 61; 3, 279 f.

[4] Note on 4, 2; cf. A. Gercke, *Seneca-Studien*, in Fleckeisen's Jahrb., Suppl. 22, 1896, p. 103. [5] J. Gehlen, *De Iuvenale Vergilii imitatore*, Gottingae, 1886.

[6] P. Schwartz, *De Iuvenale Horatii imitatore*, Hal. Sax., 1882.

[7] H. L. Wilson, *The Literary Influence of Martial upon Juvenal*, in Am. Jour. Phil., XIX, 1898, pp. 193–209. [8] 7, 227.

satires of Juvenal are found reminiscences of word and phrase, often with the thought or point of view quite changed, borrowed comparisons, parodies, metrical and other peculiarities, all of which point to the satirist's thorough familiarity with these writers and sometimes even conscious imitation of them.[1] But there is none with whom Juvenal seems to have had so close a literary connection as with Martial. When the two authors are read together, as they should be, coincidences of thought and expression crowd upon the attention in such numbers that it is impossible to escape the conclusion that the one was deeply influenced by the other. We have seen that the two poets were on terms of intimate friendship,[2] so that Juvenal must have been perfectly familiar with the epigrams, the last of which were published in the year 101–102, some time, in all probability, before he had written any of the satires.[3] We are not to suppose, then, that the numerous striking parallels are on the whole merely accidental and caused by a common environment,[4] or that the two poets "virtually worked together"[5]; but rather we are led to conclude that Juvenal, sometimes unconsciously, but often intentionally, allowed the familiar thoughts and even the words of his friend to reappear in his own pages. As a rule, however, he seems to have avoided expressing the same thought in the same way as Martial, though now and then he borrows Martial's words, giving them a new meaning or adapting them to a different point of view.[6]

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[1] See, for example, notes on 1, 25, 43, 169; 3, 70; 5, 139, 142; 7, 42, 235; 8, 120, 145; 10, 204 f., 217, 266 f., 268; 12, 9, 32; 13, 222; 14, 62, 230; 15, 100, 127. For possible echoes of Horace, see 1, 51, 165; 3, 143; 5, 88; 7, 53, 62, etc. [2] § 8. [3] Cf. §§ 10 f.

[4] This is the view of Friedländer, in Bursian's Jahresb., LXXII, 1892, p. 191, and edition of Juvenal, p. 46.

[5] This view of H. Nettleship (Lect. and Essays, Second Series, 1895, p. 131) would involve us in great chronological difficulties.

[6] A detailed study of this subject is given by H. L. Wilson in the article before mentioned. Many parallels are found also in the commentary.

History of the Text

27. **Influence of Juvenal.** The first centuries after the death of Juvenal show no sign that his satires were read or known. Not even his name appears in extant literature after the time when Martial ceased to write,[1] until in the earlier part of the fourth century he is cited by Lactantius.[2] In the course of the next one hundred years the satires seem to have become exceedingly popular not only among scholars and men of letters, such as Servius,[3] Ausonius,[4] Prudentius,[5] and Claudian,[6] but also among educated Romans in general.[7] The influence of Juvenal from this time onward and all through the Middle Ages was very great, and many an echo and reminiscence of his poems finds place in the literature not only of Italy, but of France, Germany, and Britain.[8] Copies were multiplied and scattered throughout Europe; indeed, there was scarcely a monastery that had not one or more, and commentaries and glossaries were very common.[9]

28. **Codex Pithoeanus.** The best complete[10] Ms. of Juvenal now extant is usually called the *codex Pithoeanus* (*P*) after Pierre Pithou, the French lawyer, who edited the satires from it in 1585. It is also frequently referred to as the

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[1] Cf. § 26. [2] *Divin. Institut.* III, 29, 17; cf. Inv. 10, 365 f.

[3] Note the frequent citation of Juvenal in Servius' commentary on Vergil.

[4] H. de la Ville de Mirmont, *De Ausonii Mosella*, Paris, 1892, pp. 281 ff.

[5] E. B. Lease, *A Syntactic, Stylistic, and Metrical Study of Prudentius*, Baltimore, 1895, pp. 71 f.

[6] Th. Birt, *Zwei politische Satiren des alten Rom*, Marburg, 1888, pp. 52–63.

[7] Ammian. XXVIII, 4, 14 *quidam detestantes ut venena doctrinas Iuvenalem et Marium Maximum curatiore studio legunt, nulla volumina praeter haec in profundo otio contrectantes.*

[8] For details see M. Manitius, *Beiträge zur Gesch. d. röm. Dichter im Mittelalter. 4. Iuvenalis*, in Philologus, L, 1891, pp. 354–68, supplemented by M. Maas, ib. LVI, 1897, pp. 525–34, and LVIII, 1899, pp. 157–60.

[9] M. Manitius, *Philologisches aus alten Bibliothekskatalogen*, in Rhein. Mus., XLVII, 1892, *Ergänzungsheft*, pp. 66–8. The influence of Juvenal on modern satire was very great; echoes are quoted in the notes.

[10] That is, complete to 16, 60; like all other known copies of Juvenal, it breaks off abruptly at that point.

codex Montepessulanus, because it is now in the library of the Medical School at Montpellier (number 125).[1] This Ms., written in the early part of the ninth century, contains Persius as well as Juvenal, and is furnished with both scholia and glosses.[2] Corrections were made and variant readings added by several different hands from the ninth to the eleventh century; all these are indicated by the letter *p*. It is probable that *P* once contained the whole of the last satire; for 16, 60 is the last line of the tenth and what is now the last quire, and, according to F. Buecheler, no one who has handled the Ms. can doubt that it has been mutilated.[3] The surpassing authority of *P*, which was first shown in Jahn's edition of 1851, rests on the fact that in many passages it alone has preserved the correct reading and that, apart from the changes introduced by *p*, it is tolerably free from corruptions. It contains, moreover, the best selection from the ancient commentaries.[4]

29. **Aarau fragments.** Five leaves of a Ms. which in external appearance closely resembled *P* were discovered about twenty-five years ago by J. Wirz[5] at Aarau, Switzerland, in the bindings of old books. These fragments not only represent the same recension of the text, but they are like *P* in containing twenty-nine lines to the page, and even in having the same passages as the corresponding pages of the complete Ms.

30. **Bobbio palimpsest.** Another fragment which may be mentioned here consists of two leaves of a palimpsest

[1] A history of this Ms. from the ninth century is given by Th. Gottlieb, *Eranos Vindob.*, 1893, pp. 145 ff.

[2] These glosses were edited for the first time by E. Lommatzsch, Fleckeisen's Jahrb., Suppl. XXII, 1896, pp. 391–505. For a brief account of the scholia, see § 34.

[3] In the edition of Friedl., p. 114.

[4] A detailed account of *P* with a facsimile of fol. 13 b (= *Sat.* 1, 1–29) is given by R. Beer, *Spicilegium Iuvenalianum*, Leipzig, 1885; a facsimile of another page may be seen in the series of Chatelain, pl. CXXVII (= *Sat.* 6, 603–631). Cf. also F. Buecheler, edition of 1893, pp. xiii ff., and in Friedl., pp. 113 ff.

[5] Hermes, XV, 1880, pp. 437 ff.; R. Beer, *l. l.* pp. 24 ff. These leaves, indicated by the letter *A*, contain parts of the second, third, sixth, and seventh satires.

from Bobbio, now number 5750 in the Vatican Library.[1] It is written in capitals and contains one hundred and four verses from Juvenal and Persius. This Ms., in the important passage 15, 27, agrees with *P* in giving the consul's name as *Iunco*.

31. **A florilegium of St. Gall,**[2] number 870, contains selections from Juvenal to the extent of two hundred and eighty-two verses, and is in general agreement with *P*. By the aid of this Ms. and of the scholion on 8, 157, Buecheler restored the true reading *mulio consul* in 8, 148.[3]

32. **Inferior Mss.** All other Mss. of Juvenal, too numerous to be mentioned here in detail, form what may be called the inferior or interpolated class (ω), of which none is earlier than the ninth century, and almost all are later.[4] These Mss., differing more or less widely one from another, offer a text decidedly inferior to that of *P*, though in agreement with *P* sufficiently often to render any clear-cut distinction from the better Ms. impossible.[5] In the *codex Laurentianus*, XXXIV, 42, of the eleventh century, at the end of the first book, and in the *codex Leidensis*, 82, of the same century, at the end of the second book, we find the notice *Legi ego Nicaeus apud M. Servium Romae et emendavi*.[6] If this Servius is the well-known grammarian and author of the commentary on Vergil, the recension of his pupil Nicaeus must be placed about the end of the fourth century.[7] All the Mss. of the inferior class go back to this Nicaean recension; *PA* alone,

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[1] G. Goetz, *Iuvenalis et Persii fragmenta Bobiensia*, Jena, 1884; a facsimile may be seen in Zangemeister-Wattenbach, *Exempla Cod. Lat.*, tab. v.

[2] C. Stephan, Rhein. Mus., XL, 1885, pp. 263–82. The same Ms. contains also scholia on Juvenal; cf. § 34.

[3] Cf. his note on the passage.

[4] C. Hosius, *Apparatus Criticus ad Iuvenalem*, Bonn, 1888, gives a collation of seven Mss. of this class and of four *florilegia* which contain portions of Juvenal.

[5] Cf. Buecheler, in Friedl., p. 117.

[6] A facsimile of the pages concerned is given by Chatelain, pl. CXXXIV.

[7] See Hosius, *l. l.* pp. 54 ff.; and Lommatzsch, *l. l.* pp. 385 ff. For the recension of Epicarpius see O. Keller, Neue Jahrb., CXXXI, 1885, p. 576, and Chatelain, pl. CXXXV, which presents a page of the *codex Parisinus*, 9345, of the eleventh century. Here at the end of the second book we read the notice *legente aepicarpio scribentis* (?) *exuperantio servo*.

together with the Bodleian additions mentioned in the following section, may be supposed to have come from an earlier archetype.[1]

33. **Codex Bodleianus.** One of the Mss. of the inferior class deserves more extended notice, because of certain features which make it unique among the sources of the text of Juvenal: I refer to the Bodleian Ms. (*Canonicianus* XLI) of the eleventh century, brought to light by E. O. Winstedt, who published the first collation in May, 1899.[2] This codex, though decidedly one of the ω-class, oftener, perhaps, than any other of its fellows is in agreement with *P*, and at the same time offers some readings which are quite new and well worth consideration.[3] Its most important features, however, are that it is written in a Lombardic hand, though *PAp*ω are in Caroline minuscules, and that it makes two additions to the traditional text of Juvenal, one of two verses, the other of thirty-four verses, both in the body of the sixth satire.[4] If the verses are Juvenal's—and no one but Buecheler has expressed a doubt of their genuineness—it seems probable that the parent of the *Bodleianus*, which itself came from a common archetype with ω, received the additions from some Ms. not only earlier than *P*, but earlier than the recension of Nicaeus.[5]

[1] Buecheler (*l. l.*), however, believes that all the extant Mss. are derived from the Nicaean recension, and tries to account for the fact that *P* has not preserved the subscription of Nicaeus.

[2] Class. Rev., XIII, 1899, pp. 201–5. [3] See, for example, notes on 1, 114; 7, 193

[4] 6 A after 6, 365 and 6 B after 6, 373; for criticism and interpretation of these passages see H. L. Wilson, *The Bodleian Fragments of Juvenal*, in Am. Jour. Phil., XXII, 1901, pp. 268–82, and literature there cited. No trace of the newly discovered verses is yet reported from any other Ms.; Max Maas (A.L.L. XI, 1899, p. 420) examined sixteen in Munich, and E. O. Winstedt more recently fifty-nine in the British Museum for this purpose (Class. Rev., XVI, 1902, pp. 40–6).

[5] P. v. Winterfeld, in Gött. gel. Anz., 1899, p. 896, has shown how this may have taken place. The scribe of the archetype of the *Bodleianus* placed the shorter addition of two verses on the margin; but, not having room for the longer passage, inserted a leaf to contain it, making the necessary indications to show its place in the text (after v. 345). But the copyist of the *Bodleianus*, not observing the sign, finished the page (to v. 365) and then added the thirty-four verses from the inserted leaf. This would account for the position of the verses in the Ms.

34. **Scholia Pithoeana.** The oldest commentary on Juvenal of which we have any knowledge seems to have been written in the latter part of the fourth century.[1] This was probably the commentary quoted by G. Valla, in his edition of Juvenal published at Venice in 1486, though the Ms. used by him is no longer extant. In this Ms., which ended abruptly at *Sat.* 8, 198, the author of the commentary was called Probus,[2] and is now usually referred to as the Probus of Valla, inasmuch as he is known only by the copious quotations in Valla's edition. A comparison of these extracts with the scholia preserved in *P* and also, without the text, in a Ms. of St. Gall (n. 870) shows that both come from the same good old source, though less valuable additions have been made in the latter. These annotations, now known as the *Scholia Pithoeana*, have transmitted much useful information, especially in regard to persons and places mentioned in Juvenal, and they are of the highest importance for the constitution of the text, preserving, as they sometimes do, readings which antedate all of the extant Mss.[3]

35. **Scholia of Cornutus.** Far more voluminous and for the most part of little value are the scholia traditionally attributed to one Cornutus.[4] This commentary, which is found with little variation in the inferior Mss. from the ninth century onward, now and then offers a good explanation, but, on the whole, abounds in absurdities, and in dealing with Roman life, literature, and antiquities often displays the grossest ignorance.[5]

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[1] This date depends on the schol. on 10, 24, in which is mentioned Neratius Cerealis, *praefectus urbi* in 352–3.

[2] This Probus must, of course, not be confounded with M. Valerius Probus, the famous grammarian of the first century, whose career is sketched by Sueton. *De Gram.* 24.

[3] Cf. R. Beer, *l. l.* pp. 41 f., and Chr. Stephan, *De Pithoeanis in Iuvenalem scholiis*. Bonn, 1882. These scholia were edited by Jahn, 1851, and in selections by Buecheler, 1893.

[4] Of course, not L. Annaeus Cornutus, the friend and teacher of Persius.

[5] E. Lommatzsch, *l. l.* p. 376, n. 1, points out where these scholia are edited. Add to his references W. Hoehler, Fleckeisen's Jahrb., Suppl. XXIII, 1897, pp. 379–442.

The Style of Juvenal

36. The work of few poets presents at the same time such high excellence and such glaring imperfection as that of Juvenal. His extraordinary gift for the lifelike presentation of details was reinforced and displayed to the best advantage by a style whose rhetorical brilliance was due partly to his own nature and training and partly to the tendencies of his time. No one who has read the first satire, for example, can ever forget the picture of Crispinus with his Tyrian cloak and massive ring, of the young sport showing off his fast horses to his sweetheart on the Flaminian Way, or of the distribution of the dole in the early morning to a motley crowd.[1] But this command of details and mastery of brilliant phrase is counterbalanced by an almost complete lack of the sense of proportion and an utter disregard for harmonious structure.[2] The third satire is perhaps the only one which is not open to objection from this point of view. None of these poems, then, has held its place in the world's literature because of its literary form as a whole, but rather because of the excellent description and portraiture and the skilful presentation of details.

37. One of the results of Juvenal's rhetorical training was his extensive use of *sententiae.* Many verses and brief passages which are of the most striking character contain statements of such general application that they may be separated from the context without losing their force.[3] One might quote, for example, the following:

> crescit amor nummi, quantum ipsa pecunia crevit.
> nemo repente fuit turpissimus.
> rara in tenui facundia panno.

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[1] I, 27 ff. 60 ff. 95 ff.

[2] For examples see introductory remarks to *Satires* I, 4, 7, and II.

[3] A considerable number of such verses, which do not seem to be required by the context, were once regarded by some critics as notes introduced from the margin; now however, they are accepted by all as genuine.

intolerabilius nihil est quam femina dives.
si natura negat, facit indignatio versum.[1]

Juvenal, indeed, never appears to such good advantage as when taken in quotations, and no other Latin author has produced so many expressions which are still in common use.[2]

FORMS AND VOCABULARY[3]

38. **Case endings.** In the genitive singular of *-io*-stems both the earlier form in *-i* and the later form in *-ii* are found: *e.g.* 10, 123 *Antoni;* 4, 31 *Palati,* but 8, 102 *Parrhasii;* 3, 125 *servitii.* Propertius was the first poet to make much use of the form in *-ii,* which was avoided entirely by Manilius, Seneca (Trag.), Persius, and Martial (except in one Greek word, *cybii*).[4]

39. The ablative singular of the comparative ends in *-i* in the following instances: 13, 48 *minori;* 7, 77 *leviori.* This form is exceedingly rare in classical prose and not common in poetry, but it is attested for Juvenal by Priscian (G.L.K. II, p. 346).[5]

40. In one instance the nominative plural of a present participle ends in *-īs:* 14, 300 *velantis inguina panni.*[6]

41. **Diminutives.** A fondness for diminutives is characteristic of the *sermo cotidianus,* and is, therefore, a prominent feature of satire. In Juvenal, diminutives are used in a number of different ways, as follows:

I. *Substantives.* *a.* With real diminutive force: *e.g.* 3, 102 *igniculum;* 3, 226 *hortulus;* 6, 57 *agello.*

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[1] 14, 139; 2, 83; 7, 145; 6, 460; 1, 79. A large collection of such apothegms may be found in J. Streifinger, *Der Stil des Satirikers Juvenalis,* Regensburg, 1892, pp. 43–8.

[2] For example, take 10, 356 *mens sana in corpore sano;* 3, 165 *res angusta domi;* 6, 223 *hoc volo, sic iubeo;* 7, 154 *crambe repetita;* 1, 79; 2, 83; 3, 152 f.; 5, 130 f.; 6, 165; 14, 47.

[3] To facilitate reference, the most striking features of Juvenal's style are set down in a more detailed and systematic fashion. Attention is called not only to the special peculiarities of the satires, but also to divergences from the classical norm and to characteristics of the Silver Age.

[4] Neue, *Formenlehre,* I³, pp. 134–54.

[5] Neue, *l. l.* II³, p. 265.

[6] Neue, *l. l.* II³, pp. 60 f.

b. To express pity or contempt: *e.g.* 1, 40 *unciolam;* 3, 253 *servulus;* 3, 78, *Graeculus;* 7, 174 *summula.*

c. For comic or satiric effect: *e.g.* 1, 11, *pelliculae;* 7, 148 *nutricula;* 10, 334 *flammeolo.*

d. Without diminutive force: *e.g.* 1, 160 *labellum;* 3, 28 *bacillo;* 6, 401 *mamillis;* 7, 46 *tigillo.* In such cases the diminutive may often have been chosen for metrical convenience.

e. With a meaning quite different from that of the primitive: *e.g.* 3, 249 *sportula,* 'dole,' from *sporta,* 'basket'; 5, 103 *anguilla,* 'eel,' from *anguis;* 14, 43 *avunculus,* 'uncle,' from *avus.*

II. *Adjectives.* *a.* To indicate the existence of the quality in a slight degree: *e.g.* 3, 149 *sordidula;* 5, 73 *inprobulum;* 10, 340 *parvula.*

b. As a rule, however, with a meaning scarcely to be distinguished from that of the primitive: *e.g.* 11, 110 *lividulus;* 13, 213, *misellus.*

NOTE.—It is possible that diminutives in Juvenal may express still other ideas, but there is much room for subjective views and for difference of opinion.

42. **Archaisms** are rare in Juvenal: 1, 169 *duelli;* 5, 112 *face;* 4, 29 and 10, 138 *induperator;* 15, 157 *defendier.* The first is probably part of an old proverb, and the last two occur in passages which parody the epic.

43. **Colloquial words** are numerous: *e.g.* 3, 262 *bucca* (It. bocca); 9, 140 *baculum* (It. bacchio); 2, 169 *braca* (Sp. bragas); 3, 118 *caballus* (It. cavallo, Fr. cheval); 3, 170 *cucullus* (Sp. cogulla, Fr. coucou); 13, 210 *cedo,* old imperative of *do;* 6, 280 *sodes* (= *si audes*). See also §§ 41, 44, 45, 46, 70.[1]

44. **Simple verb for compound.** In common with most writers of his time, Juvenal freely uses the simple verb for

[1] Cf. Gröber, *Vulgärlat. Subst. d. roman. Wörter,* in A.L.L. I–VI.

the compound. This may sometimes be due to the preservation of the simple verb in this sense from an early period or to fondness for alliteration, but as a rule it marks the influence of poetic diction or of the language of daily life. Examples are 3, 137 *testem dare* (= *edere*); 11, 50 *cedere foro* (= *excedere*); 1, 141 *ponit apros* (= *apponit*); 14, 94 *totam hanc turbavit* (= *conturbavit*); 7, 47 *posita est* (= *disposita*).[1]

45. **Desiderative verb for simple.** The fact that desiderative verbs (in *-urio*) occur for the most part in Comedy, Satire, Petronius, Martial, and Apuleius, shows clearly their vulgar and colloquial origin. In the Silver Age they are sometimes used without desiderative force: *e.g.* 6, 309 *micturiunt* (= *mingunt*); Petron. 64 *canturire* (= *cantare*); Schol. on Pers. 1, 112 *ne in loco sacro micturiant* (= *mingant*). Elsewhere in Juvenal desiderative verbs have their natural meaning: 3, 78; 7, 7, 87; 13, 99; 14, 127 *esurire*; 16, 46 *micturire*.[2]

46. **Borrowed words.** These, as a rule, came into the literature through the language of daily life; a few, doubtless, through literary channels.

a. Greek. Several hundred Greek words are found in the satires, especially in passages where the spirit of invective or ridicule is most prominent. Many of these occur only in Juvenal: *e.g.* 8, 128 *acersecomes*; 6, 477 *cosmetae*; 7, 120 *epimenia*; 3, 68 *niceteria*; 7, 46 *anabathra*. Some words the satirist seems himself to have coined: *e.g.* 3, 68 *ceromaticus* (κήρωμα); 7, 119 *petasunculus* (πετασών); 2, 65 *stoicidae* (στωικός).[3]

b. Gallic (*Celtic*). Juvenal uses several words of Gallic origin which were probably common in the *sermo cotidianus*: *e.g.* 8, 147 and 9, 132 *carpentum*; 3, 10, 236 and 4, 118

[1] For further detail see H. L. Wilson, *The Simple for the Compound Verb in Juvenal*, in Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc., xxxi, 1900, pp. 202–22.

[2] Cf. E. Wölfflin, *Die Verba Desiderativa*, in A.L.L. 1, pp. 408–14.

[3] A complete and excellent treatment of all Greek words in Juvenal is A. Thiel, *Iuvenalis graecissans sive de vocibus Graecis apud Iuvenalem*, Breslau, 1901.

raeda ; 8, 66 *epiraedia* (a hybrid with the Greek) ; 8, 157 *Epona* (goddess of horsemanship).

c. Germanic. Examples are not numerous : 13, 79 *framea* ; 6 B and 11, 147 *mango.* See notes on the passages.

DICTION AND SYNTAX

The Substantive

47. **As adjective.** Aside from verbal nouns in *-tor* and *-trix,* the employment of substantives as adjectives is poetic and colloquial. In Juvenal we find :

a. Verbals in *-tor* and *-trix* : *e.g.* 1, 50 *victrix provincia ;* 4, 62 *miratrix turba ;* 13, 195 *animo tortore.* Such nouns are not rarely used in classical prose to denote permanent characteristics : in the first century, however, this restriction is gradually removed, and momentary actions and conditions are thus indicated.[1]

b. Other substantives, including proper names : *e.g.* 3 110 *filia virgo ;* 7, 107 *comites libelli ;* 8, 149 f. *testes oculos ;* 8, 261 f. *tyrannis exulibus ;* 4, 100 *ursos Numidas ;* 11, 94 *Oceano fluctu.*[2]

48. **Plural for singular.** In the poetry of the Silver Age the plural is very commonly used for the singular, especially for metrical convenience : *e.g.* 1, 23 *nuda teneat venabula mamma ;* 4, 68 *tua servatum consume in saecula rhombum ;* 5, 2 ; 6, 24 ; 13, 28. In 6, 383 *operas* (= *operam*) *dare* is probably colloquial, being found in Plautus, Terence, Petronius, Seneca, etc.[3]

49. **Singular for plural.** A singular is used for a plural :

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[1] Schmalz, *Lat. Gram.*, p. 433.

[2] Examples are given by J. Rahn, *Selecta Capita de Syntaxi Iuvenaliana*, Halle, 1875, pp. 13–18, and by R. Weise, *Vindiciae Iuvenalianae*, Halle, 1884, p. 55 ; cf. Neue, *l. l.* II³, pp. 29 f., 35 ff.

[3] Cf. C. F. W. Mueller, in Friedl., p. 328. See also the extended treatment of the subject by P. Maas, A.L.L. XII, pp. 479–550.

a. Collectively: *e.g.* 3, 285 *aenea lampas;* 7, 46 *conducto tigillo;* 7, 132 *longo assere.*

b. With an adjective that implies plurality: *e.g.* 1, 120 f. *densissima lectica;* 8, 7 *multa virga;* 8, 58 *plurima palma.*

50. The use of one or more proper names in singular or plural to designate a class is common in Juvenal: *e.g.* 1, 108 f. *ego possideo plus Pallante et Licinis;* 2, 40 *tertius e caelo cecidit Cato;* 12, 39 *teneris Maecenatibus.*[1]

51. Juvenal is very fond of using personal names from mythology as appellatives: *e.g.* 1, 61 *Automedon* (= driver); 4, 65 *Atrides* (= emperor); 16, 26 *Pylades* (= friend).[2]

52. Instead of a substantive with an attributive adjective or a genitive of quality, the substantive is sometimes in the genitive dependent on another substantive, which really conveys in a more emphatic way the meaning of the adjective or genitive of quality: *e.g.* 1, 10 *aurum pelliculae* (= *auream pelliculam*); 4, 39 *spatium admirabile rhombi* (= *rhombus spatii admirabilis*); 10, 75 f. *secura senectus principis.*

53. For certain forms of *filius* which are unsuitable to the metre, the corresponding forms of *iuvenis* are used: *e.g.* 3, 158 *iuvenesque lanistae;* 4, 95; 8, 262; 10, 310; 14, 23.

The Adjective

54. **As substantive.** The substantive use of the adjective is very free in Juvenal, and in many cases a second adjective is added to modify the first: *e.g.* 1, 149 *in praecipiti vitium stetit;* 10, 107 *inpulsae praeceps inmane ruinae;* 1, 71 *rudes propinquas;* 6, 548 *divitis orbi;* 14, 178 *properantis avari.*[3]

55. **As adverb.** Adjectives, especially those which designate time, are often used where the sense would require an adverb or an adverbial phrase: *e.g.* 1, 28 *ventilet aestivum*

[1] Examples are given by Streifinger, *l. l.* pp. 41 f.
[2] See Friedl. on 1, 61 for other examples.
[3] Rahn, *l. l.* pp. 20–30; Weise, *l. l.* pp. 56 f.

aurum; 3, 12 *nocturnae Numa constituebat amicae;* 4, 108 *matutino amomo;* 8, 86 *Cosmi toto mergatur aeno.*[1]

56. **Prolepsis.** In common with Vergil and other poets, Juvenal occasionally uses an adjective to represent as existent, not the actual conditions, but those which are being produced: *e.g.* 1, 83 *anima caluerunt mollia saxa;* 5, 27 *rubra deterges vulnera mappa;* 6, 144 *se cutis arida laxet;* 8, 120 *tenuis Afros.*

57. **Comparison.** *a. Magis* is used to make the comparative in several adjectives which have the ordinary form: *e.g.* 1, 7 *nota magis* (cf. 9, 25 *notior*); 6, 188 *turpe magis;* 6, 413 *magis intolerabile* (cf. 6, 460 *intolerabilius*); 14, 113 *certa magis.*[2]

b. In two instances the comparative is strengthened by *multum;* 10, 197 *multum robustior;* 12, 66 *multum fortior.* Cf. 6, 210 *longe minus;* Stat. *Sil.* III, 4, 12 *multum felicior;* id. *Theb.* IX, 559 *multum iactantior.* In the classical period the ablative of difference is regularly employed, the adverbial accusative being allowed only with verbs which involve comparison, *e.g.* Cic. *Mur.* 29 *multum antecellit.*[3]

c. Participles are sometimes compared: *e.g.* 3, 74 *torrentior;* 9, 25 *notior;* 3, 58 *acceptissima;* cf. Plaut. *Capt.* 714 *acceptissumus;* Petron. 137 *acceptissimum;* Suet. *Aug.* 67 *acceptissimis.*[4]

d. The elliptical form of comparison (*comparatio compendiaria*) is not rare: *e.g.* 3, 73 f. *sermo promptus et Isaeo* (= *Isaei sermone*) *torrentior;* 4, 71 *dis aequa potestas;* cf. 7, 72; 9, 6; 10, 98, 247, 313. This, of course, is not rare in any period.

e. The comparative of disproportion is sometimes defined by an ablative: *e.g.* 3, 203 *lectus Procula minor* (too small

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[1] Rahn, *l. l.* pp. 31 f.; Langen on Val. Fl. III, 115.

[2] E. Wölfflin, *Lat. u. Rom. Comparation*, pp. 30 ff.; R. Heinze on Lucr. III, 192.

[3] G.-L. § 301; Schmalz, p. 250, § 88; cf. Wölfflin, *l. l.* and E. B. Lease, Am. Jour. Phil., XXI, 1900, p. 449.

[4] Cf. Wölfflin, A.L.L. VIII, 1893, pp. 124 ff.

for P.); 4, 66 *privatis maiora focis;* 13, 12; 14, 165; 15, 140. This use of the comparative is found in Horace (*e.g. Epist.* I, 10, 43) and in later writers.[1]

f. Nisi is used for *quam* after a comparative in 6, 580 f. *capiendo nulla videtur aptior hora cibo nisi quam dederit Petosiris.* This vulgarism is here admitted to avoid the repetition of *quam;* similar instances are C.I.L. VIII, 212, 36; *Hist. Apoll. Reg. Tyr.*, pp. 26, 2; 106, 3.[2]

58. An adjective is occasionally used to denote, not a quality, but an effect produced: *e.g.* 7, 206 *gelidas cicutas;* 13, 229 *vigili cum febre;* cf. Hor. *Sat.* I, 9, 32 *tarda podagra.*

59. One adjective is often used for another of similar meaning:

a. Omnis for *ullus: e.g.* 8, 209 f. *ignominiam graviorem pertulit omni vulnere;* 10, 232; 14, 68. This is colloquial and frequent in comedy, *e.g.* Ter. *And.* 391 *sine omni periclo.*

b. Omnis for *totus: e.g.* 1, 59 f. *caret omni maiorum censu;* 3, 55; 6, 438, 606; 11, 136.

c. Totus for *omnis: e.g.* 6, 61 *cuneis totis;* 8,255 *pro totis legionibus;* 10, 115. This also is doubtless colloquial and vulgar in its origin.[3]

The Pronoun

60. **Personal.** *Tu* is often expressed in commands and prohibitions, though no especial emphasis is intended: *e.g.* 2, 61 *tu nube et tace;* 8, 228 *tu pone;* 9, 134; 10, 342; 14, 48 *nec tu contempseris.*

61. **Demonstrative.** *a.* Juvenal is fond of the combination *hic idem,* which occurs frequently in the satires: 3, 92; 6, 112, 402; 7, 152, 198; 10, 256, 331; 11, 21, 25, 177.

b. Iste for *hic.* By the second century *iste* had largely lost its distinctive connection with the second person. The

[1] Lane, § 1461; Friedl. on 3, 230. [2] Cf. C. F. W. Müller in Friedl. on 6, 580 f.
[3] Cf. Wölfflin, A.L.L. III, p. 470.

weakening of its original force may be detected in Vergil, and in prose from Valerius Maximus. In Juvenal the older meaning cannot be clearly discerned in half of the occurrences, and in several instances it is certainly absent: *e.g.* 4, 66 f. *genialis agatur iste dies;* 6, 295 f. *hinc fluxit ad istos et Sybaris collis* (the hills of Rome, in 9, 131 *his collibus*); cf. 1, 139; 3, 187; 3, 29 *istic* (in Rome), and Ital. stanotte, 'to-night' (= *ista nocte*).[1]

62. **Interrogative.** *a. Quis* for *qui.* Juvenal always uses *quis* for *qui* in questions both direct and indirect: *e.g.* 6, 571 *quis mensis;* 7, 63 *quis locus;* 14, 178 *quis metus;* 15, 119 *quis casus.* This is true also of Horace and Persius.[2]

b. Qui for *quis.* In one instance, doubtless for the sake of euphony, *qui* is used for *quis:* 11, 33 *te consule qui sis;* cf. Plaut. *Capt.* 560 *neque scit qui siet;* id. *Cist.* 164 *nescit qui siet.*

c. Quis for *uter.* In two instances *quis* is loosely used where only two alternatives are suggested: 8, 196 *quid satius?* 10, 338 *quid placeat dic.* This is not common, but it occurs in Cicero (*e.g. Att.* XVI, 14, 1), in Vergil (*e.g. Aen.* XII, 727), and in other authors. Cf. § 64 *a.*[3]

d. Two interrogative pronouns are occasionally found in one question: *e.g.* 5, 80 f. *aspice...quibus undique saepta asparagis qua despiciat convivia cauda;* 10, 69 f. *quisnam delator quibus indicibus?* 12, 48 *qua mundi parte quis audet.*[4]

63. **Relative.** *Quicumque* is often used as an indefinite pronoun (= *quilibet*), especially in prepositional phrases: *e.g.* 6, 412 *quocumque in trivio...narrat;* 3, 156, 230; 6 A, 1; 8, 27; 14, 42, etc. This is very rare in Cicero, but becomes common in the Silver Age: cf. § 66.[5]

64. **Indefinite.** *a. Quisque* for *uterque.* As *quis* for *uter*

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[1] Cf. Wölfflin-Meader, A.L.L. XII, pp. 382 ff.; Heitland in Haskin's Lucan, p. cviii (η).
[2] L. O. Kiaer, *De Sermone D. Iunii Iuvenalis*, Hauniae, 1875, pp. 171 f.
[3] Kiaer, *l. l.* p. 171. [4] G.-L. § 470, R.
[5] O. Riemann, *Synt. Lat.*, 1900, p. 31; cf. Am. Jour. Phil., XXII, 1901, p. 271.

(§ 62 *c*), so *quisque* is found for *uterque* in 1, 41 *partes quisque suas ad mensuram inguinis heres.* This may be seen in Cicero and Vergil, but is more common in Silver Latin.[1]

b. Alius for *alter.* The confusion of *alius* and *alter*, though avoided in the best style, is seen where the speech of daily life made itself felt in the literature ; *e.g.* in Vitruvius, Curtius Rufus, Suetonius, and Apuleius. Examples in Juvenal are : 4, 138 *aliamque famem ;* 6, 437 ; 8, 245 ; 10, 150.[2]

The Adverb

65. **As adjective.** An adverb is occasionally used to modify a noun : *e.g.* 3, 204 f. *parvulus infra cantharus ;* 7, 41 *haec longe ferrata domus.* This is less natural than in Greek on account of the absence of an article. Examples are rare in the literature of the Republic, but numerous in Livy, Tacitus, and the post-Augustan poets.[3]

66. *Utcumque* and *quandoque,* which during the earlier period were relative adverbs introducing clauses, are used as indefinite adverbs : 10, 271 *exitus ille utcumque hominis ;* 2, 82 *foedius hoc aliquid quandoque audebis amictu ;* 5, 171 f. *pulsandum . . . praebebis quandoque caput ;* 14, 51.[4]

67. *Olim* is used in various ways in Juvenal : *a.* = *interdum :* 10, 142 f. *patriam tamen obruit olim gloria paucorum.* This is oftenest found in early Latin and in poetry, *e.g.* Verg. *Aen.* v, 125.

b. = *iamdudum : e.g.* 3, 163 ; 4, 96 ; 6, 42, 90, 281, 346 ; 9, 17. This is characteristic of the Silver Age.[5]

c. = *quondam : e.g.* 5, 110 ; 6, 157 ; 8, 98 ; 10, 78, 163, 173 ; 11, 77 ; 14, 180 ; 15, 93.

d. = *aliquando :* 14, 225 *dices olim.*

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[1] Cf. Munro on Lucr. III, 333, and Heinze on the same passage.

[2] G.-L. § 319, N. 1 ; Langen on Val. Fl. I, 140.

[3] Rahn, *l. l.* p. 33 ; Riemann, *Études sur la Langue et la Grammaire de Tite-Live*[2], 1884, pp. 242 ff. ; A. Draeger, *Ueber Syntax u. Stil des Tacitus*[2], 1882, § 23.

[4] Riemann, *Études,* pp. 178 ff.

[5] Cf. Mayor on 4, 96.

68. *Magis* is used for *potius* in 1, 52 *sed quid magis?* 8, 222 *quid...debuit ulcisci magis?* Lucr. 1, 612; Prop. 1, 4, 4; Sall. *Iug.* 85, 49.[1]

The Verb

69. *Foret*(*nt*) is used for *esset*(*nt*) either alone or with the gerundive or with the perfect participle:

a. In the unreal condition: 2, 158 *si foret umida laurus;* 10, 75 *si oppressa foret;* 10, 263 *si foret extinctus.*

b. In the indirect question: 4, 140 f. *Circeis nata forent an Lucrinum ad saxum;* 10, 103 *quid optandum foret, ignorasse.*

c. After *cum:* 12, 30 *cum plenus fluctu medius foret alveus.* *Foret* is frequently found in Plautus, Terence, Sallust, Livy, and Nepos, though never in Caesar and but rarely in Cicero (*e.g. Att.* VII, 21, 2).[2]

70. **Colloquialisms.** The following may be mentioned:

a. Quid do (*das*) *ut...*: 3, 184 *quid das, ut Cossum aliquando salutes?* 7, 165 f. *quid do, ut totiens illum pater audiat.* Cf. Seneca, *Contr.* XXVI, 11 f. *quid do, ne indicaverim...quid do, ne liberos meos recipiam.*[3]

b. The reflexive use of *habere:* 10, 72 *bene habet* (= καλῶς ἔχει), where stricter literary form would demand *se habet.* This is common in Plautus and occurs in Cicero, Livy, and other authors, as well as in inscriptions; *e.g.* C.I.L. II, 1162, 4315.[4]

71. **Moods.** *a.* The present indicative is found instead of the subjunctive in deliberative questions: *e.g.* 3, 296 *in qua te quaero proseucha?* 4, 130 *conciditur?* This indicative, usually in the first person, is common in early Latin, and occurs not rarely in later works, especially in those which contain a marked colloquial element.[5]

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[1] Many examples are given by Langen on Val. Fl. v, 563.

[2] G.-L. § 250, N. 2; id. § 251, N. 2; Riemann, *Études*, pp. 226 ff.

[3] O. Rebling, *Versuch einer Char. d. röm. Umgangssprache*[2], pp. 47 f.

[4] Rebling, *l. l.* pp. 40 f., gives many examples; Wölfflin, A.L.L. x, p. 7; E. Hauler on Ter. *Phorm.* 429.

[5] G.-L. § 254, N. 2; Langen on Val. Fl. v, 285; cf. Postgate, Class. Rev., XV, 1901, pp. 451–2.

b. With *forsitan* (*forsan*) the future indicative is used instead of the usual subjunctive: 12, 125 *forsan Pacuvio breviter dabit;* 14, 295 *forsitan ipsa nocte cadet.* Another instance would be 1, 150, if with *P* we should read *dices hic forsitan;* cf. note on this passage.[1]

72. **Tenses.** *a.* The imperfect is used instead of (1) the perfect: 11, 184 f. *quando licebat per totum cessare diem?* (2) the pluperfect in the unreal condition of the past: *e.g.* 4, 85 *si...liceret;* 13, 187 *accusatori nollet dare.* Cf. 7, 69 f.; 8, 263. In all such cases stress is laid on the continuance of the action or state involved.[2]

b. The future is used to denote the ascertainment in future time of an action which is present: 1, 126 *noli vexare, quiescet.* Cf. Plaut. *Pers.* 645 *haec erit bono genere nata; i.e.* 'you'll find she comes of good family.' This occurs most frequently in comedy, and is doubtless colloquial.[3]

c. To denote the 'universal present' (gnomic) Juvenal employs, (1) the future: *e.g.* 3, 241 *obiter leget aut scribet vel dormiet intus;* 7, 187 f. *res nulla minoris constabit patri quam filius;* (2) the perfect: *e.g.* 1, 149 *omne in praecipiti vitium stetit;* 2, 83 *nemo repente fuit turpissimus;* 10, 7.[4]

d. The pluperfect is used in the sense of an imperfect or aorist: *e.g.* 10, 271 f. *torva canino latravit rictu quae post hunc vixerat uxor;* 15, 15 f. *risum fortasse quibusdam moverat;* 5, 76 *fuerat.* This use of the pluperfect is not uncommon in early Latin and in the Augustan and later poets; examples, too, may be found even in the best prose.[5]

The Conjunction[6]

73. Juvenal shows a marked preference for *nec* over *neque*, but, on the other hand, like the other poets of the Silver Age

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[1] Riemann, *Études*, p. 292.
[2] G.-L. § 597, R. 1.
[3] G.-L. §242, N. 2; Lane, § 1621.
[4] G.-L. § 242, N. 1; id. § 236, N.
[5] G.-L. § 241, N. 1; Lane, § 1617; Praun, A.L.L. v, p. 598; Blase, *Gesch. d. Plusquamperfekts im Lat.*, Giessen, 1894, p. 47.
[6] For the omission of conjunctions (asyndeton), see § 137.

(except Seneca), uses *atque* more than *ac*.[1] Of the seven examples of *neque* four precede *enim* (1, 89; 7, 59; 11, 30; 14, 127; but *nec enim*, 4, 41; 15, 107); 3, 110 *neque ipse;* 3, 79 *neque Sarmata;* 8, 98 *neque vulnus.*

74. *Et* is sometimes used where the sense requires an adversative (*i.e.* = *et tamen*): *e.g.* 1, 74 *probitas laudatur et alget;* 7, 35 *facunda et nuda senectus;* 7, 124; 13, 91. This use is frequent, especially in early Latin and in the Silver Age.[2]

75. *Nec* also is used adversatively (*i.e.* = *nec tamen*). *e.g.* 3, 101 f. *flet...nec dolet;* 13, 113 f. *audis...nec labra moves.* Instances are not rare even in classical prose: *e.g.* Cic. *Fam.* IX, 2, 1 *Conscripsi epistulam noctu nec ille ad me rediit.*[3]

76. *Sed* is occasionally found without adversative force (*i.e.* = moreover), especially to introduce a parenthetical clause: *e.g.* 5, 147 *boletus domino, sed quales Claudius edit;* 4, 26 f. *provincia tanti vendit agros, sed maiores Apulia vendit.* Cf. 2, 45; 3, 232; 14, 117. A good early example is Plaut. *Cas.* 691 f. *etiamne habet nunc Casina gladium?* PAR. *Habet, sed duos;* see also Seneca, *Med.* 965; Mart. 1, 117, 7.[4]

77. In prohibitions *ne* is rarely used, its place being often taken by *nec* (3, 302; 6, 450; 8, 188; 11, 186 etc.) or *non* (6, 451; 11, 185; 16, 28). *Neu* occurs but once; 14, 203 *neu credas.*[5]

78. *Nec* in the sense of *ne—quidem* is found in early Latin and is common in the Silver period; examples in Juvenal are 2, 152 *nec pueri credunt;* 3, 90 f. *deterius nec ille sonat;* 13, 97; 14, 246. Horace has only one instance, *Sat.* II, 3, 262 f. *nec nunc, cum me vocat ultro, accedam?*[6]

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[1] *atque* occurs 156 times, *ac* 59 times, *nec* 164 times, *neque* 7 times; cf. E. B. Lease, *Studies in Honor of B. L. Gildersleeve*, p. 414.

[2] Riemann and Goelzer, *Gram. Comp.*, p. 364; Lane, § 1655; for the similar use of *-que* as adversative, see Francken on Luc. IX, 147.

[3] Lane, § 1657.

[4] Cf. W. Schulz, Hermes, XXI, 1886, pp. 183 ff.

[5] B. Lupus, *Vindiciae Iuvenalianae*, Bonn, 1864, p. 39.

[6] G.-L. § 480, N. 1; Riemann, *Études*, pp. 277 ff.; many examples are given by Langen on Val. Fl. IV, 200.

79. *Necdum* perhaps has the sense of simple *nondum:* 1, 6 *scriptus et in tergo necdum finitus Orestes.* Clear cases of this change occur in Livy and Tacitus and later become very numerous. *Nec = non,* however, is found in early Latin, *e.g.* Plaut. *Most.* 240 *nec recte.*[1]

80. Instead of the correlative use of *nec* we find *nec... aut* (8, 217 f.; 14, 173 f.), *nec...nec...* —— (13, 43 f.), and *nec...-que...aut* (15, 124 f.). Such irregularities are not rare in poetry.[2]

The Cases

81. **Accusative.** The accusative of the inner object is common in Juvenal: *e.g.* 1, 16 f. *ut altum dormiret;* 2, 3 *Bacchanalia vivunt;* 14, 295 *aestivum tonat.*[3]

82. *Audere* is found with the accusative nine times in Juvenal; 2, 2 *aliquid de moribus audent;* 10, 174 f. *quidquid Graecia mendax audet in historia;* 2, 82; 6, 97; 8, 165; 15, 122. It is doubtful whether the Romans felt the omission of an infinitive in such cases.[4]

83. **Dative.** *a.* After *similis* and *dissimilis* Juvenal employs the dative, except 10, 192 *dissimilemque sui: e.g.* 2, 33; 3, 18; 5, 132; 6, 7, 165; 15, 68. The genitive was the construction in early Latin and was more common for persons even in the classical period.

b. Certain adjectives which are usually followed by prepositional phrases are found in Juvenal only with the dative, often of the gerundive construction: *e.g.* (1) *aptus:* 7, 58 f. *aptusque bibendis fontibus;* 6, 581; 15, 145; (2) *utilis:* 14, 71 f. *utilis agris, utilis...rebus agendis;* 10, 348; but oftener of persons, *e.g.* 6, 210, 240; 7, 96; 9, 27; (3) *diversus:* 10, 3 *vera bona atque illis multum diversa;* (4) *maturus:*

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[1] Riemann, *Synt. Lat.*, p. 494, N.; Schmalz, p. 455.

[2] Bentley on Hor. *Sat.* 1, 6, 68; Hand, *Tursell.* 1, p. 545.

[3] The examples are given by G. Mosengel, *Vindiciae Iuvenalianae*, Leipzig, 1887, pp. 49 f.

[4] Cf. C. F. W. Müller, in Friedl. on 2, 2.

8, 169 f. *maturus...tuendis amnibus ;* 12, 7 *templis maturus et arae.*[1]

84. The dative of the agent (so called) is used not only with the gerundive but also with the perfect participle : *e.g.* 6, 559 *civis formidatus Othoni ;* 15, 98 *dicta mihi gens ;* and with the present indicative passive : 6, 45 f. *illi quaeritur.*

85. **Genitive.** The genitive of quality is sometimes used instead of a second adjective : *e.g.* 3, 48 *mancus et extinctae...dextrae ;* 12, 30 ff. (of a ship) *plenus et...arboris incertae ;* 9, 29, 31 ; cf. Seneca, *Med.* 21. In 11, 96 the ablative of quality is similarly used.

86. The partitive genitive in the singular or plural is occasionally dependent on an adjective in the neuter plural : 12, 55 *discriminis ultima ;* 15, 95 *bellorumque ultima ;* cf. Lucr. 1, 1102 *ultima naturai ;* Luc. VIII, 665 *ultima mortis.* This is rare in early Latin, but becomes common from the time of Livy, and is especially frequent in Tacitus.[2]

87. The genitive is used with *felix* to denote the seat of the feeling : 14, 119 *animi felices.* Such genitives (usually *animi*) may originally have been locatives.[3]

88. The genitive is found with the following present participles and verbal adjectives : *amans* 3, 228 ; *patiens* 1, 31 ; 7, 33 ; *inpatiens* 6, 238, 327 ; 7, 57 ; *metuens* 5, 154 ; 7, 210 ; *tenax* 8, 25 ; *capax* 11, 41 ; 2, 44 ; 15, 144.[4]

89. *Refert* is used with the genitive of the person in 16, 58 *ducis hoc referre videtur.* This construction, rare in the classical period, seems to appear first in Sall. *Iug.* 111, 1 *illorum...retulisse. Interest,* which is regular with the genitive, is, of course, unsuitable to the dactylic hexameter.[5]

90. *Egere* is followed by the genitive in 14, 288 *curatoris eget ;* 15, 147 *cuius egent,* though the ablative, which is regu-

[1] G.-L. § 359, NN. ; Lane, § 1201.

[2] G.-L. § 372, N. 2. ; Riemann, *Études*, pp. 102–4 ; Dräger, *Ueber Syntax und Stil des Tacitus*[2], § 66.

[3] G.-L. § 374, N. 7 ; Lane, § 1339 ; Riemann, *Études*, p. 270.

[4] G.-L. § 375 ; Riemann, *Synt. Lat.*, p. 122.

[5] G.-L. § 381 ; Lane, § 1278 ; Schmalz, p. 242, gives other references.

lar in classical usage, occurs in 7, 61, 228 ; 13, 97. This use of the genitive appears as early as Plautus, is found once or twice in Cicero's Letters, and occasionally in Caesar, Sallust, and later writers.[1]

For the genitive of value, see § 94.

91. **Ablative.** With the ablative of place the preposition *in* is very often omitted : *e.g.* 1, 113 f. *templo nondum habitat ;* 4, 112 *marmorea meditatus proelia villa.* Examples may be cited from Cicero and Caesar, but they are not numerous in prose before Livy.[2]

92. Duration is frequently expressed by the ablative : *e.g.* 6, 183 *septenis oderit horis ;* 7, 235 *quot Acestes vixerit annis ;* 9, 16 *tempore longo ;* 10, 239 *multis...annis.* The construction is rare in classical prose (Caes. *B. C.* 1, 46, 1) but becomes common in Silver Latin.[3]

93. The ablative of the person, regarded as cause or instrument rather than as agent, is often used without *ab : e.g.* 1, 13 *adsiduo ruptae lectore columnae ;* 1, 54 *mare percussum puero ;* 3, 306 *armato custode tenentur.* An example of the reverse sort, in which the thing is regarded as personal, is 10, 270 *ab ingrato iam fastiditus aratro.*[4]

94. With *constare* Juvenal expresses indefinite value by the ablative as well as by the genitive : 7, 77 *constat leviori belua sumptu ;* 14, 258 *quanto capitis discrimine constent ;* but 6, 365 *quanti sibi gaudia constent ;* 6, 626 ; 7, 45, 188. Cf. also the ablatives in 3, 166, 235 ; 6, 73 ; 8, 65 ; 14, 218.

95. *Plenus* is always followed by the ablative in Juvenal : *e.g.* 1, 32 f. *lectica Mathonis plena ipso ;* 3, 187 *plena domus libis ;* 4, 47 f. ; 5, 66 ; 8, 72 ; 10, 191, 242. The genitive is the regular construction in Cicero and Caesar, but the ablative (instrumental), which occurs rarely in the classical period,

[1] Riemann, *Études*, p. 269 ; Schmalz, p. 252, § 91 ; Lease, Am. Jour. Phil., XXI, 1900, p. 450 ; A.L.L. XII, p. 144.

[2] The instances are collected by Mosengel, *l. l.* pp. 68 ff.; cf. Riemann, *Études*, pp. 271 f.

[3] Riemann, *Synt. Lat.*, p. 144 ; Mosengel, *l. l.* p. 72.

[4] The instances are in Mosengel, *l. l.* p. 55 ; cf. G.-L. § 401, R. 1; Lane, § 1319

is preferred by Seneca (phil.), Petronius, Lucan, Valerius Flaccus, and Martial, and used exclusively by Plinius Minor, Statius, and Juvenal.[1]

96. With a number of verbs which are usually followed by a prepositional phrase, source and separation are denoted by the simple ablative: *e.g.* 3, 270 f. *fenestris vasa cadant* (cf. 7, 70); 3, 29 *cedamus patria;* 1, 132 *vestibulis abeunt;* 13, 207 *longa deductis gente propinquis* (cf. 8, 273).[2]

97. Worthy of note, also, are the following constructions:

a. Ablative = *per* with accusative: *e.g.* 6, 430 *marmoribus rivi properant;* 10, 185 f. *cruentis fluctibus ac tarda per densa cadavera prora* (sc. *rediit*).

b. Ablative with *a* = dative: *e.g.* 10, 126 *volveris a prima quae proxima;* 12, 14 *a grandi cervix ferienda ministro.*

c. Ablative with *a* to express cause: 7, 164 *madidas a tempestate cohortes.*[3]

d. Ablative with *de* = partitive genitive: *e.g.* 1, 34 f. *de nobilitate...quod superest;* 1, 66 *multum...de Maecenate;* 15, 92 *aliquid de sanguine;* cf. Sen. *Med.* 165 *nihilque superest opibus e tantis;* Luc. VII, 717 *superest ex nomine multum.*[4]

e. Ablative with *de* = genitive of quality: 6, 45 *antiquis uxor de moribus.*

f. Ablative of the thing with *pro* = dative after a verb of fearing: 14, 306 f. *attonitus pro electro signisque.* The use of *pro* with the ablative of the person is more natural, *e.g.* Seneca, *N. Q.* IV, *praef.* § 15.

Questions

98. Some of the common interrogative particles do not occur in Juvenal, *e.g. uter, utrum,* and *num; nonne* is rare

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[1] Riemann, *Études*, p. 273; Schmalz, pp. 252 f.; Lease, Am. Jour. Phil., XXI, 1900, p. 450. [2] Mosengel, *l. l.* pp. 63 ff.; Riemann, *Études*, p. 271.

[3] G.-L. § 408, N. 3; Lane, § 1317 a; Schmalz, p. 271.

[4] G.-L. § 372, R. 2; Schmalz, p. 271; Wölfflin, A.L.L. VII, 477.

(four times), *an* more frequent (twenty-four times). Worthy of note are the following :

a. An is used for *num* or *-ne* in the simple indirect question and in the first member of the disjunctive question : *e.g.* 7, 141 f. *respicit...an tibi servi octo, decem comites, an post te sella ;* 13, 202 f. *quaerebat...an hoc illi facinus suaderet ;* 6, 387,567; 15, 89, etc. This does not occur in the best prose, but is found in Plautus and Terence, and is common in the Silver period.[1]

b. Anne is Juvenal's regular substitute for *num* in the simple direct question : *e.g.* 4, 78 *anne aliud tum praefecti ?* 7, 179 f. *anne serenum expectet ?* 7, 199 f. *anne aliud quam sidus ?* 10, 207 ; 15, 122 ; similarly in the simple indirect question in Plin. *N. H.* II, 95 *ad dubitationem est adductus anne hoc saepius fieret.* In Cicero *anne* is used only in the second member of a disjunctive question.[2]

c. Numquid is used for *num* in the indirect question as well as in the direct : 2, 51 *numquid nos agimus causas ?* 11, 56 f. *experiere hodie numquid pulcherrima...non praestem.* In the indirect question *numquid* is rare and colloquial, and the force of the indefinite may usually be felt, *e.g.* Cic. *Att.* XII, 8 ; Petron. 9, 102.[3]

Subordination

99. **Causal.** *Siquidem*, originally conditional, sometimes introduces what is practically a causal clause with verb in the indicative : *e.g.* 6, 620 f. *minus ergo nocens erit Agrippinae boletus, siquidem unius praecordia pressit ille senis ;* 12, 106 f. *Caesaris armentum nulli servire paratum privato, siquidem Tyrio parere solebant Hannibali.* This word was rarely used before Cicero, was avoided by Curtius, but is found fourteen times in Suetonius and frequently afterward.

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[1] G.-L. § 460, N. 1.; Riemann, *Études*, pp. 302 f.; Fighiera, *La Lingua e la Grammatica di Sallustio*, 1896, p. 227.

[2] G.-L. § 457, N. 2 ; Schmalz, pp. 325, 361.

[3] Schmalz, p. 360.

In the later period it is usually causal, and is followed by the subjunctive.[1]

100. The clause introduced by *dum* sometimes assigns a reason : *e.g.* 1, 59 f. *caret omni maiorum censu, dum pervolat axe citato Flaminiam;* 5, 94 *et iam defecit nostrum mare, dum gula saevit;* 14, 92 *dum sic ergo habitat Cretonius, inminuit rem.* In such cases the main action is usually one to be regretted.[2]

101. *Quatenus* is a causal conjunction in Juvenal: 12, 101 f. *existunt qui promittant hecatomben, quatenus hic non sunt nec venales elephanti.* The earliest example of this poetic use of *quatenus* is Lucr. II, 924 ; it does not appear in classical prose or in Vergil, but is seen in Horace, Ovid, and later writers.[3]

102. **Final.** An object clause of purpose follows *poscere :* 5, 112 *poscimus ut cenes civiliter ;* 7, 71 f. *poscimus ut sit non minor ;* Tac. *Hist.* II, 39, 4 f. This rare construction is not found before Livy.[4]

103. Purpose is expressed by the infinitive in 14, 30 *ad moechum dat eisdem ferre cinaedis.* This use of the infinitive is colloquial and poetic, and is found especially after *dare* and verbs of motion.[5]

104. **Temporal.** With *postquam* the pluperfect is once used to denote a resulting state : 4, 153 f. *periit postquam cerdonibus esse timendus coeperat.* This occurs once in Terence (*And.* 177), is rare in the writers of the best period, but frequent in Livy and in later authors.[6]

105. In particular past statements with *priusquam* the perfect indicative is the rule ; but the imperfect subjunctive,

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[1] G.-L. § 595, R. 5 ; Schmalz, p. 420 ; A.L.L. VII, p. 607 ; M. Wolff, *De usu coniunctionum apud Iuvenalem*, 1888, p. 32.

[2] G.-L. § 570, N. 2 ; Lane, § 1998 ; Wolff, *l. l.* p. 15.

[3] Wolff, *l. l.* pp. 24 f. ; Wölfflin, A.L.L. V, pp. 404 f. ; R. Heinze on Lucr III, 218.

[4] Schmalz, p. 406 ; Lease, Am. Jour. Phil., XXI, 1900, p. 454.

[5] Lane, § 2164 ; Schmalz, pp. 282 f.

[6] G.-L. § 563, N. 3 ; Lane, § 1928 ; Riemann, *Synt. Lat.*, p. 374.

though not found in early Latin, in Cicero or in Caesar, is not uncommon in Livy and later writers. The word is thus used once in Juvenal : 13, 38 f. *hoc indigenae vivebant more, priusquam sumeret agrestem . . . falcem Saturnus.*[1]

106. **Conditional.** *Si* is often omitted in the protasis of the conditional sentence: *e.g.* 3, 78 *in caelum, iusseris, ibit ;* 3, 100 f. *rides, maiore cachinno concutitur ;* 13, 215 f. *ostendas melius, densissima ruga cogitur in frontem.*[2]

107. An imperative or an imperative subjunctive is used as an equivalent for the protasis ; *e.g.* 1, 155 *pone Tigellinum, . . . lucebis ;* 7, 175 f. *tempta . . . , artem scindes Theodori ;* 16, 29 ff. *audeat ille . . . dicere 'vidi,' et credam dignum barba.* In the last example the use of the conjunction is characteristic of the later period ; cf. also 6, 57.[3]

108. With the subjunctive of the ideal second person (in protasis) is commonly found :

a. The indicative of the universal present : *e.g.* 3, 102 f. *igniculum brumae si tempore poscas, accipit endromidem ;* 7, 50 *si discedas, . . . tenet ;* 10, 141 f., 205 ; 11, 16, 27 f.[4]

b. The future indicative : *e.g.* 10, 219 f. *si nomina quaeras, promptius expediam ;* 10, 339 *ni parere velis, pereundum erit.*[5]

109. *Cum,* with reference to indefinite time, is sometimes used with future indicative in the protasis : *e.g.* 1, 160 *cum veniet contra, digito compesce labellum ;* 5, 60 *respice, cum sities ;* 10, 26 *illa time, cum pocula sumes ;* 11, 148 *cum posces, posce Latine.*[6]

110. *Dummodo non* is used in negative 'conditional wishes' : 7, 222, 225 *dummodo non pereat.* This later Latin

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[1] Lane, § 1917 ; Wolff, *l. l.* p. 19 ; Riemann, *Études*, pp. 299 f.

[2] G.-L. § 598 ; Lane, 1701 ; examples given in Kiaer, *l. l.* pp. 134 ff. Cf. § 72, *a*, 2.

[3] G.-L. § 593, 4 ; Lane, § 1574. For the future participle as a substitute for the apodosis, see § 118, *d*.

[4] G.-L. § 595, R. 3 ; Harkness, § 578, 2 ; Wolff, *l. l.* pp. 47–52.

[5] G.-L. § 596, 1 ; Wolff, *l. l.* pp. 52 f.

[6] G.-L. § 583 ; Lane, § 1860 ; Wolff, *l. l.* p. 4.

equivalent for the classical *dummodo ne* is found as early as Ovid, *Pont.* I, 1, 14.[1]

111. *Tamquam* is found with the future participle in a conditional clause of comparison: 4, 147 f. *tamquam de Chattis ... dicturus.* In the best prose *ut* is so employed.[2]

112. *Tamquam* is used with the subjunctive after *suspicere* to introduce a substantive clause which is the equivalent of an infinitive: 3, 222 *suspectus, tamquam ipse suas incenderit aedes;* cf. Tac. *Hist.* III, 35 *suspecta Germania, tamquam in auxilium Vitellii accingeretur.* This construction, which is found after certain verbs (especially those of accusing), nouns, adverbs, and adverbial expressions, occurs very frequently in Tacitus and is characteristic of the Silver Age.[3]

113. **Concessive.** *Quamquam* is used as follows:

a. Usually with the subjunctive: *e.g.* 7, 15 *quamquam et Cappadoces faciant;* 2, 4 etc. (nine examples). This is very rare in classical prose, but is common in Silver Latin.[4]

b. With the perfect participle and with an adverbial phrase: 4, 60 *quamquam diruta;* 4, 79 f. *quamquam temporibus diris.* *Quamquam* with the participle, etc., though common in the period of Juvenal, is very rare in the best period; the first instance is Cic. *Fin.* V, 68, which seems to be unparalleled in Cicero's time.[5]

114. *Quamvis* is used in the following ways:

a. With the subjunctive: *e.g.* 13, 3 f. *quamvis ... vicerit.* This is in harmony with the usage of the best prose.

b. With participles and adjectives: *e.g.* 3, 1 *quamvis digressu veteris confusus amici;* 5, 5 *quamvis iurato* (nine cases in all). It occurs with adjectives in early Latin (*e.g.* Plaut. *Rud.* 373), but with participles probably not before Martial and Tacitus.[6]

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[1] Wolff, *l. l.* p. 34. [2] G.-L. § 602, N. 3; Riemann, *Études*, pp. 304 f.

[3] G.-L. § 602, N. 4; all the examples are collected and discussed by Bennett, A.L.L. XI, pp. 405 ff. [4] Riemann, *Études*, pp. 300 f.

[5] G.-L. § 609, N. 1; Schmalz, p. 315; Lease, Am. Jour. Phil., XXI, 1900, p. 453.

[6] G.-L. § 609, NN.; Schmalz, p. 315; Lease, *l. l.* p. 451; Wolff, *l. l.* pp. 66 f.

c. In the sense 'and yet' (καίτοι), introducing a new sentence to modify the preceding: 3, 61 *quamvis quota portio faecis Achaei.* This is extremely rare; *quamquam* is often thus employed.

For the participle as a substitute for a concessive clause, see § 118, *d.*

115. *Licet,* which on account of its verbal origin is regularly followed by the present or perfect subjunctive, in one instance takes the imperfect subjunctive: 13, 56 *licet ipse videret.* Such cases are very infrequent: the earliest is probably *Bell. Hisp.* 16, 4 (plup.), then Mart. v, 39, 8 (plup.) and IX, 91, 3. In still later times it is more common, and even the indicative is found.[1]

The Infinitive

116. After certain verbs which in classical prose are used absolutely or with some other construction, Juvenal allows the infinitive. Examples are as follows:

a. Cessare: 13, 23 *ut cesset prodere furem.* This is frequent in comedy, and was doubtless colloquial.

b. Curare: 3, 127 f. *si curet nocte togatus currere;* 13, 101 *si curant...punire.* This occurs in Cicero (*Flacc.* 27, 64), but not in Caesar, Sallust, or Livy.[2]

c. Destinare: 3, 2 f. *quod sedem figere Cumis destinet;* 10, 330 f. *cui nubere Caesaris uxor destinat;* cf. Plin. *Epist.* III, 5, 20; Stat. *Ach.* 1, 200. This construction belongs to archaic and Silver Latinity.[3]

d. Gaudere: 6, 102 *et duros gaudet tractare rudentis;* 6, 420; 8, 225; 9, 84; 12, 81 f.; 14, 270 f.[4]

e. Sustinere: 6, 104 f. *propter quod ludia dici sustinuit;* 14, 127 f. *neque...sustinet...consumere;* 15, 87 f. *mordere*

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[1] G.-L. § 607; Schmalz, pp. 388 f.; Lease, *l. l.* p. 454 and A.L.L. XI, p. 26.
[2] G.-L. § 423, N. 2; Riemann, *Synt. Lat.*, p. 291.
[3] Schmalz, § 149 a; Lease, Am. Jour. Phil., XXI, 1900, p. 451.
[4] Schmalz, p. 284.

cadaver sustinuit ; cf. Ov. *Met.* IV, 447 ; Luc. VII, 657 ; Mart. X, 66, 3 f. ; Liv. XXIII, 9, 7. Usually, as in the second example, a negative accompanies.[1]

f. Valere: 6, 611 *valeat mentem vexare mariti ;* 8, 170 f. *praestare...valet ;* 13, 120 ; 15, 67. This is poetic, and occurs as early as Lucr. I, 109 ; III, 257.[2]

117. The infinitive is occasionally dependent on an adjective : *e.g.* 3, 277 *contentae patulas defundere pelves ;* 13, 133 ; 6, 50 *Cereris vittas contingere dignae ;* 8, 67 ; 11, 100 *mirari nescius ;* 13, 240 ; 4, 109 f. *saevior...iugulos aperire.*[3]

For the infinitive used to express purpose, see § 103.

The Participle

118. **Future.** The future participle active is employed by Juvenal in the following ways :

a. To express mere future time : *e.g.* 3, 72 *viscera magnarum domuum dominique futuri ;* 14, 59 *hospite venturo cessabit nemo tuorum.*

b. To express intention : *e.g.* 5, 32 *cardiaco numquam cyathum missurus amico ;* 14, 49 *peccaturo obstet tibi filius infans.*

c. To express destiny : *e.g.* 1, 17 f. *stulta est clementia... perituraе parcere chartae ;* 11, 13 *et cito casurus iam perlucente ruina.*

d. To express characteristic or likelihood : *e.g.* 11, 94 f. *testudo...clarum Troiugenis factura et nobile fulcrum ;* 14, 2 *et nitidis maculam haesuram figentia rebus.* Occasionally the future participle is a substitute for the apodosis of a conditional sentence, as in 6, 277, or for a concessive clause, as in 6, 39 ; once also it stands after *tamquam* (= ὡς) in a conditional clause of comparison (cf. § 111). This wide use of the future participle is characteristic of the Silver Age ;

[1] G.-L. § 423, N. 2 ; Schmalz, p. 284 ; Riemann, *Études*, p. 282.

[2] Riemann, *Études*, p. 282 ; Schmalz, p. 285.

[3] Kiaer, *l. l.* pp. 175 ff. ; F. Lohr, *De infinitivi apud P. Pap. Statium et Iuvenalem usu*, 1876, p. 72.

aside from *futurus* and other future participles in combination with *esse*, instances are rare before Livy.[1]

119. **Gerundive.** The gerundive is sometimes used as a future passive participle: *e.g.* 14, 268 *habitas coro semper tollendus et austro;* 14, 314 *passurus gestis aequanda pericula rebus.* In still later times this tendency was more consistently carried out, *e.g. agendum esse = actum iri* in Ammianus, Symmachus, and other late writers.[2]

120. **Perfect.** A perfect participle is used with *habere* to denote the continuance of a condition: 13, 193 f. *quos diri conscia facti mens habet attonitos;* similarly an adjective: 10, 296 f. *miseros trepidosque parentes semper habet. Sollicitum habere* is far more common than either of Juvenal's expressions.[3]

For the perfect participle with *quamquam* and *quamvis*, see §§ 113, *b* and 114, *b*.

Order of Words

121. An appositive is placed between a substantive and its qualifying adjective in 3, 48 *exeo tamquam mancus et extinctae, corpus non utile, dextrae.* A similar arrangement may be seen in Catull. 64, 184 *nullo litus, sola insula, tecto.*

122. The subject is very frequently the last word in its clause: *e.g.* 1, 61; 3, 151; 6 A, 22, 34; 7, 7; 15, 161.

123. The antecedent is sometimes found in the relative clause at or near the end: *e.g.* 1, 116 *quaeque salutato crepitat Concordia nido;* 3, 257 f. *qui saxa Ligustica portat axis.*

124. An adjective which modifies two substantives is usually placed between them, sometimes before the conjunction, sometimes after: *e.g.* 11, 39 f. *aere paterno ac rebus;*

[1] G.-L. § 438, N.; Kiaer, *l. l.* pp. 184 f.; Riemann, *Études*, pp. 303 ff.; G. Landgraf in A.L.L. IX, pp. 47-51, traces the beginnings of the independent use.

[2] Schmalz, p. 301; Ph. Thielmann, A.L.L. II, pp. 75 ff.

[3] A complete list of such expressions is given and discussed by Ph. Thielmann, A.L.L. II, pp. 377 ff.

8, 129 *per conventus et cuncta per oppida.* This is true also of almost every word which bears a common relation to a pair of other words:

a. A substantive with two modifiers: *e.g.* 7, 60 f. *maesta paupertas atque aeris inops;* 8, 231 *tuis natalibus atque Cethegi.*

b. A genitive which modifies two substantives: *e.g.* 13, 219 *templum et violati numinis aras;* 14, 109 *specie virtutis et umbra.*

c. A verb with two substantives: *e.g.* 6 A, 18 *animum servant et seria vitae;* 7, 102 *rerum numerus iubet atque operum lex.*

d. An adjective with two dependent substantives: *e.g.* 12, 7 *templis maturus et arae.*

e. The object common to two verbs: *e.g.* 6, 436 *committit vates et comparat;* 15, 150 *petere auxilium et praestare.*[1]

125. Pronouns, adverbs, and conjunctions very frequently occupy unusual positions in the sentence. Reference may be given to a few examples:

a. Quis: 7, 81 (seventh place); 10, 265 (fourth place).

b. Qui: 1, 111 (sixth place); 7, 130 (fifth place); between thirty-five and forty times in the second place.

c. Ut: 8, 186 (third place); 15, 155 (fifth place).

d. Cum: 8, 87 (fifth place); 14, 83 (third place).

e. Si: 3, 173 (sixth place); 16, 37 (eighth place).[2]

f. Et stands in the second place in 1, 57; 6, 422; 9, 108; 15, 20, and in the third place in 6 A, 2, if Housman's emendation be accepted.[3]

g. -que is found after the second word in 12, 63.[4]

h. Igitur stands in the first place in 6, 210; 9, 20; 10, 285; in the third place in 4, 5; 10, 15, etc. Cf. Quintil. 1, 5, 39.

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[1] The examples are collected by Weise, *l. l.* pp. 60 f.; cf. also Kiaer, *l. l.* pp. 18 ff.

[2] All the examples of inverted order for these and other words are given by Weise, *l. l.* pp. 57 ff.

[3] Cf. H. L. Wilson, Am. Jour Phil., XXII, 1901, pp. 271, 280 f.

[4] Cf. C. F. W. Müller, in Friedl. *ad loc.*

126. **Anastrophe.** The preposition sometimes follows its case: 11, 113 *litore ab Oceani;* 8, 240 *muros intra;* 16, 16 *ne vallum litiget extra;* 8, 199 *haec ultra;* 14, 202 *Tiberim ultra;* 16, 26 *molem aggeris ultra.*[1]

Tropes and Figures

127. **Metaphor.** Metaphors abound in Juvenal, and even mixed metaphors are not rare: *e.g.* 7, 39 f. *dulcedine famae succensus;* 7, 54 f.; 8, 76 f. Many of the more striking metaphors are satiric rather than poetic: *e.g.* 3, 150 f. *cicatrix* and *vulnus* (of a mended shoe); 5, 169 *stricto pane;* 4, 77 *vilicus urbi* (= *praefectus*). He is especially fond of metaphors drawn from the military sphere and from the sports of the amphitheatre: *e.g.* 7, 173 *ad pugnam qui rhetorica descendit ab umbra;* 11, 89 *domito referens a monte ligonem;* 14, 230 f. *totas effundit habenas curriculo;* cf. notes on 14, 230, 246.[2]

128. **Simile.** Juvenal's comparisons are usually drawn from history, mythology, or the realm of nature and animal life: *e.g.* 1, 43 f. *palleat, ut nudis pressit qui calcibus anguem, aut Lugudunensem rhetor dicturus ad aram;* 3, 279 f. *noctem patitur lugentis amicum Pelidae;* 6, 270 (*uxor*) *orba tigride peior.*[3]

129. **Metonymy.** The usual types occur:

a. Abstract for concrete: *e.g.* 1, 34 *nobilitas* (= *nobiles*); 1, 110 *honor* (= *tribunus*).[4]

b. Effect for cause: *e.g.* 5, 120 *nequa indignatio desit;* 1, 120 *fumus* (firewood).

c. Material for thing made: *e.g.* 1, 28 *aurum* (a ring); 14, 194 *buxus* (a comb).

d. Container for thing contained: *e.g.* 11, 38 *deficiente crumina* (money); 14, 82 *cubile* (young birds).

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[1] Weise, *l. l.* p. 59; Klaer, *l. l.* p. 58; Ph. Thielmann, A.L.L. IV, p. 257.

[2] L. Genther, *Ueber den Gebrauch der Metaphern bei Juvenal*, Wittenberg, 1878, pp. 29 f. [3] Streifinger, *l. l.* pp. 14–20. [4] Weise, *l. l.* p. 55.

e. Sign for thing signified: *e.g.* 14, 193 *vitem* (= *centurionatum*); 14, 197 *aquilam* (= *primipilatum*).[1]

130. **Transferred epithet.** This is especially frequent, and characteristic of Juvenal: *e.g.* 3, 275 *vigiles fenestrae;* 7, 42 *sollicitas portas;* 8, 248 *pigra dolabra;* 10, 264 *audaces carinas;* 12, 82 *garrula pericula.*[2]

131. **Contrast.** Juvenal is fond of abrupt contrasts: *e.g.* 5, 59 *Gaetulum Ganymedem;* 6, 622 f. *descendere in caelum;* 7, 28 *parva sublimia;* cf. 1, 50, 140; 3, 182 f., 209; 4, 74; 6, 597.[3]

132. **Apostrophe.** In Juvenal, as in all Latin poets, this is of frequent occurrence: *e.g.* 1, 50 *tu victrix provincia ploras;* 14, 316 *nos facimus, Fortuna, deam.*[4]

133. **Anaphora.** In numerous instances the same word or words occur at the beginning of succeeding verses: *e.g.* 1, 51 f. *haec ego...haec ego;* 6, 232 f. *illa docet...illa docet.*[5]

134. **Epanalepsis.** The same word occurs at the end of one verse and at the beginning of the next: *e.g.* 2, 135 f. *fient | fient;* 5, 112 f. *esto | esto;* 6, 279 f. *dic | dic;* similarly at the beginning and end of the same verse: *e.g.* 1, 15 *et nos ...et nos;* 6, 457 *nil...nil;* 15, 7 *illic...illic.*[6]

135. **Alliteration.** Examples are 8, 174 *furibus ac fugitivis;* 10, 120 *cervix caesa* (= *abscisa*).[7]

136. **Enallage.** *a.* Mood varies in coördinate clauses: *e.g.* 4, 101 f. *intellegat...miratur;* 7, 185 *conponat...condit;* 15, 169 f. *sufficit...crediderint.*

b. Tense varies in the same sentence and without apparent reason: *e.g.* 1, 155–7 *lucebis...deducis;* 6, 396 f. *consulit...volet ...fiet;* 14, 174 *miscuit...grassatur.* Without doubt metrical convenience is often the decisive factor in these variations.[8]

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[1] Streifinger, *l. l.* pp. 35–9, has collected the examples of these and other types.
[2] Kiaer, *l. l.* p. 219; Friedl. on 2, 170. [3] Streifinger, *l. l.* p. 10.
[4] Weise, *l. l.* pp. 40 f. [5] Streifinger, *l. l.* pp. 5 ff.; Weise, *l. l.* pp. 45 ff.
[6] Cf. E. Klebs in Friedl., p. 607; Streifinger, *l. l.* pp. 7 f.
[7] E. Wölfflin, Sitzungsber. bayr. Akad., Phil.-hist. Kl., 1881, 1, pp. 49 ff; A.L.L. III, pp. 443 f. [8] Weise, *l. l.* pp. 61 f.; Lupus, *l. l.* p. 38.

137. **Asyndeton.** Conjunctions are very frequently omitted: *e.g.* 1, 107 ff. *custodit in agro conductas Corvinus oves, ego possideo plus Pallante et Licinis;* 3, 197 f. *nulla incendia, nulli nocte metus;* 6, 353 *conducit comites sellam cervical amicas;* 10, 35.[1]

138. **Ellipsis.**[2] The style of Juvenal is characterized by the very frequent omission of words and phrases which may easily be supplied from the context. The following types may be noticed:

a. The copulative verb: *e.g.* 1, 1 *semper ego auditor tantum* (sc. *ero*)? 2, 22 *quo deterior te* (sc. *sum*)? 3, 58; 7, 200, etc.[3]

b. Other verbs: *e.g.* 1, 88 f. *alea quando hos animos* (sc. *sumpsit*)? 11, 4 f. *omne theatrum de Rutilo* (sc. *loquitur*). In particular, after adverbs of source (*inde, unde, hinc*) and in questions introduced by *quo* the verb is regularly omitted: *e.g.* 1, 168 *inde irae et lacrimae;* 14, 56 *unde tibi frontem?* 1, 144 *hinc subitae mortes;* 8, 9 f. *effigies quo tot bellatorum.*

c. Tantus is omitted before *quantus* in twenty-one out of twenty-seven instances: *e.g.* 10, 13 f. *exuperans patrimonia census quanto delphinis ballaena Britannica maior.*[4]

139. **Pleonasm and tautology.** Juvenal frequently uses two synonymous words where one would suffice, adduces two or more parallel examples to illustrate his thought, and repeats the same idea in different form: *e.g.* 3, 135 f. *haeres et dubitas;* 7, 3 *celebres notique poetae;* 2, 26 f. *si fur displiceat Verri, homicida Miloni, Clodius accuset moechos, Catilina Cethegum;* 14, 47 ff. *maxima debetur puero reverentia, siquid turpe paras, nec tu pueri contempseris annos, sed peccaturo obstet tibi filius infans.*[5]

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[1] Kiaer, *l. l.* pp. 72 ff. [2] Kiaer, *l. l.* pp. 108–65.
[3] Cf. R. Beer, *Spicil. Iuven.*, p. 61.
[4] Cf. H. L. Wilson, Am. Jour. Phil., XXII, 1901, p. 276.
[5] Lupus, *l. l.* pp. 22 f.; Weise, *l. l.* pp. 27 ff.

Other Peculiarities

140. **Transition.** Juvenal, like other poets of the rhetorical school, makes use of certain stock words and phrases in passing from one part of his subject to another. Prominent are the following:

a. The imperatives *accipe, aspice, respice, adde(quod)*: *e.g.* 7, 36 *accipe nunc artes;* 13, 120; 2, 166 *aspice quid faciant commercia;* 5, 80; 8, 91 *respice quid moneant leges;* 14, 114 f. *adde quod...populus putat;* 15, 47.

b. The interrogative expressions *quid referam* and *quid quod: e.g.* 1, 45 *quid referam quanta siccum iecur ardeat ira;* 3, 86 f. *quid quod adulandi gens prudentissima laudat sermonem indocti;* 6 A, 9.[1]

141. The satires of Juvenal are marked by many parenthetical clauses, and even by long digressions: *e.g.* 1, 127–31; 5, 137–45; 12, 17–82; see note on 12, 82.[2]

142. For a proper name, Juvenal frequently substitutes a descriptive phrase or a relative clause: *e.g.* 8, 237 *novus Arpinas* (= Cicero); 10, 112 *generum Cereris* (= Pluto); 10, 127 *quem mirabantur Athenae* (= Demosthenes).[3]

143. Proverbs and proverbial expressions are numerous: *e.g.* 1, 7 *nota magis nulli domus est sua;* 7, 202 *corvo quoque rarior albo.* This is true of all Roman satire and of other departments of Latin literature in which there is a strong colloquial element.[4]

METRE[5]

By Professor Kirby F. Smith

144. **The satiric hexameter.** After experimenting for some time with that variety of metres which was in harmony

[1] Weise, *l. l.* pp. 12 f.; Bergmueller, *Quaest. Iuven.*, in Act. Sem. Erlang., IV, 1896, pp. 398–440, gives an exhaustive account of these and other forms of transition.

[2] Cf. § 76; Friedl., pp. 49 f. and p. 104* (index).

[3] Friedl. collects the examples in notes on 1, 25 and 5, 45.

[4] Examples are given in the index to Friedl., p. 106*, *s. v.* Sprichwörter.

[5] G. Eskuche, *Juvenals Versbau*, in Friedländer's Juvenal, pp. 57–80; H. Bornecque

with the Ennian definition of *satura* as a literary department, Lucilius finally settled upon the hexameter as the form best suited to his purpose. His choice was confirmed by Horace, and henceforth became a law of composition for Persius, Juvenal, and other satirists of the Lucilian school.

The great primary laws of construction for the Roman hexameter, whether epic, elegiac, or satiric, are the same, and a knowledge of them on the part of the student is assumed. So, too, from its beginning with Ennius to its culmination in the first century, the Latin hexameter travelled steadily towards the utmost strictness of technique.

But in the matter of particulars the satiric type, like the epic and elegiac, is a separate creation. True to the character and purpose of the department, the hexameter of satire is marked by a greater freedom of construction and more latitude in the various details of exceptional usage. This is true of Juvenal as it is of Horace, though the lapse of three generations has made Juvenal far more strict in some matters of technique than his predecessor.

145. **The hexameter of Juvenal.** The difference, however, between Horace and Juvenal is not a matter of chronology alone. The temperament of Horace, as well as the more direct influence of Lucilius upon his conception of satire, suggested and perfected an easy, conversational verse, moving within the widest possible limits of artistic freedom. But the genius and temperament of Juvenal, as well as the purpose of his satire, were something quite different. He had been a professional rhetorician and his satire is declamatory, not conversational. Speaking in general, then, the verse of Juvenal is one in which the traditional freedom of the satiric

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Deux études de métrique latine, Rev. des Études Anc., III, 1901, pp. 200–4 (1st satire only). See, in general, L. Müller, *De Re Metrica*, 2d edit., St. Petersburg, 1894; W. v. Christ, *Metrik der Griechen und Römer*, Leipzig, 1879; F. Plessis, *La métrique grecque et latine*, Paris, 1889.

type has been utilized and specially developed to meet the aims of professional declamation. The hexameter is also very much diversified by the varying moods of the author. The mood of parody which exaggerates the conventional usages of epic, the impatient mood which deliberately transgresses conventional rules because they are conventional, the mood of pure poetry which considers them with the utmost care, the conversational mood which takes us back to Horace —all these are clearly impressed upon Juvenal's verse-technique and seriously affect the meaning of any laws of usage founded on statistics alone. Only a few of the more important points can be taken up here, and the discussion of them is chiefly for the purpose of practical illustration. No attempt is made to be complete and exhaustive.

146. **Conflict.**[1] In the first four feet of the hexameter it was the aim of the Roman poet to avoid the coincidence of verse-ictus with regular word-accent. This conflict was desirable in all four places, the general rule in three or two, demanded in at least one. From this point of view a verse like Lucretius, I, 77,

Quanam sit ratione atque alte terminus haerens,

was faulty. Such lines occur for the most part in the earlier poets and are very rare.

This law of conflict is of the greatest importance. It should be clearly understood and always kept in mind, inasmuch as the observance of it, owing to the one invariable law of Latin accent, is the principal organ of development in the technical history of the Roman hexameter. This is especially true of the caesura and, above all, of the so-called secondary (masculine) caesurae, the real object of which, in most cases, is to produce that conflict which always accompanies them.

147. **Caesura.**[2] This important element of the hexameter

[1] See, for example, L. Müller, *l. l.* p. 234 f.

[2] Eskuche, *l. l.* p. 73 f.; Müller, *l. l.* pp. 195 f.

was developed and observed with especial care by the Roman poets, as their verse was recited, not sung.

a. Caesura semiquinaria. This caesura (also known as the 'penthemimeral' and 'masculine' caesura) occurs, as its name indicates (lit. '$\frac{5}{2}$'), between the thesis and arsis of the third foot, thus:

I. Qualibet. illa tuo ‖ sententia semper in ore.

The Latin hexameter uses this caesura more frequently than all the others put together. The main advantages of it are, (1) that it is strong and distinct; (2) that it allows the use of either a dactyl or a spondee in the third foot; (3) that it always produces conflict in the third foot; (4) that, with this caesura, conflict in the second, and especially in the fourth foot is more easily obtained. In the example quoted (1), conflict occurs only in the third foot and is produced by the caesura. The comparative frequency of such verses in the satires of Horace and Juvenal is a mark of the freedom of the department.

Conflict in the second and fourth feet is produced by making the end of any word but a monosyllable coincide with the thesis in each case, thus:

II. Consilium | dedimus ‖ Sullae | privatus ut altum.

In the large majority of cases, therefore, the regular 'penthemimeral' caesura is accompanied by one or both of these secondary caesurae. They are named, from their positions in the verse, the 'trithemimeral' (*semiternaria*, '$\frac{3}{2}$') and the 'hephthemimeral' (*semiseptenaria*, '$\frac{7}{2}$').

Juvenal himself belongs to a group of poets who make a larger use of the penthemimeral caesura. The others are Ovid, Persius, and Claudian.[1]

b. Caesura semiseptenaria. Next to the 'penthemimeral,' but at a long interval, the caesura most used by the Roman poets is the 'hephthemimeral.' This should always be ac-

[1] Müller, *l. l.* p. 221.

companied by a 'trithemimeral' caesura, and the result is a tripartite verse, thus:

III. Flaminiam ‖ puer Automedon ? ‖ nam lora tenebat.

But this type is much more common in Juvenal than in Martial and the epic. It is usual to lighten the second third, as Juvenal himself often does, by a trochaic caesura, thus:

IV. Hic elegos ? ‖ impune | diem ‖ consumpserit ingens.

Verses containing only a 'hephthemimeral' caesura are exceedingly rare.[1] The most striking example in Juvenal is:

V. Victrix turba nec ardenti ‖ decoxit aeno.

The other cases noted by Eskuche are 1, 135; 6, 366; 10, 131, 229; 11, 106(?); 14, 196, 256; 15, 143; 16, 34. In the majority of them the natural caesura has been obscured by elision; compare 10, 358. The rarity of these verses is sufficiently explained by reading them aloud.

c. Caesura κατὰ τρίτον τροχαῖον. The 'trochaic' or 'feminine' caesura was always admired by the Greeks and in their later poetry was practically the rule. But in the Roman poets, by whom it was shunned for the same reasons that the 'penthemimeral' was cultivated, it is the rarest of all caesurae. The 13 examples quoted from Juvenal (2, 146; 4, 120; 6, 192, 450; 7, 52; 8, 100, 267; 10, 278; 11, 133; 14, 137, 242; 15, 64, 116) represent about the average percentage of use in all Latin poetry after Catullus.[2] All but one (6, 450) conform to the general rule that the 'trochaic' caesura must be accompanied by a 'trithemimeral,' thus:

VI. In laevum | conversus ‖ at illi dextra iacebat.

A 'trochaic' caesura alone is of the utmost rarity. Juvenal's one case (6, 450),

VII. Torqueat enthymema ‖ nec historias sciat omnes,

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[1] Statistics in Müller, *l. l.* p. 222 and J. Walser, Zeit. f. öst. Gymn., XXXIII, pp. 14 f.

[2] Statistics for the entire language after Catullus in J. Walser, *l. l.* pp. 1 f.

is rendered less exceptional by the fact that *enthymema* is a Greek word.

d. Bucolic diaeresis, especially with a spondee in the fourth foot, is common to the point of monotony in Catullus and Lucretius. Avoidance of it is noticeable in Vergil, and it was used less and less by the more careful among later poets, owing to the fact that it made conflict in the fourth foot all but impossible. Compare:

VIII. Martis et Aeoliis vicinum | rupibus antrum.

Juvenal in 1, 5 and 7 shows the only way in which this diaeresis could be combined with conflict in the fourth foot. The frequency of this diaeresis, especially with the more objectionable spondee in the fourth foot, is a notable characteristic of Juvenal's verse. The succession of them in 10, 153 f. seems to have been for a special purpose.

148. Juvenal's use of caesura, speaking in general, may be best appreciated by reading a long passage aloud. It will be seen that the variety and freedom of satire have been adapted with great skill to the purposes of declamation.

149. **Dactyls and spondees.** The Latin language was naturally rich in spondees. In the hexameter of epic and elegy there was a long struggle to avoid them, which culminated in the light and graceful verse of Ovid. The conversational tone of satire admitted them more freely. But even here the effect of chronology is visible. Juvenal's 44% of dactyls in the first four feet is slightly larger than that of Vergil. Persius and Lucan belong in the same class.

150. **Schemata.**[1] The possible combinations of dactyls and spondees in the hexameter (particularly, of course, in the first four feet) were known as the *schemata.* All the *schemata* are found in the Latin poets, but the favorites for the literature are *dsss,* about 15%; *dsds,* about 12%; *ddss,* about 11%; *sdss,* about 10%. The least desired are *sddd,* about 2%,

[1] Drobisch, Neue Jahrb., CIX, 1874, p. 747.

and *ssdd*, a little less. The same *schemata* in Juvenal's first satire[1] are *dsss*, 16 %; *dsds*, 12 %; *ddss*, 8 %; *sdss*, 13 %; *sddd*, 3 %; *ssdd*, 2½ %. The figures vary somewhat for the different satires, but the general average is very near to that of Vergil, with a slight increase in the heavier and less desirable combinations, as befits the greater freedom of satire.

151. **The first foot.**[2] The Roman poets preferred a dactyl in the first foot. The highest average was reached (over 90 %) by Ovid in his elegy. Juvenal's 60 % is exactly that of Vergil's Aeneid, but certain harsher combinations are less carefully avoided. If, for example, a dactylic (or a spondaic) word at the beginning of the verse is followed by a monosyllable, the desired effect of a 'trithemimeral' caesura is lost, thus:

Telephus aut | summi plena iam margine libri,

or with a spondaic word,

Nullus iam | parasitus erit, sed quis ferat istas,

Only eight cases of the liberty illustrated by these two examples occur in the epigrams of Martial. Over three hundred occur in Juvenal (fewer in the later satires).

A spondaic word in this foot, with elision before a following vowel, thus,

Plena ipso, post hunc magni delator amici,

was avoided after Lucretius. It is not uncommon in Juvenal, and increases to a marked extent in the last two satires.

152. ***Versus spondiaci.***[3] This is the name given to those hexameters which contain a spondee in the fifth foot instead of the regular dactyl. The Homeric use of the *versus spondiacus* is about one in eighteen to twenty lines. It was not intended for effect and ends in a long word, frequently a quadrisyllable,

[1] Bornecque, *l. l.* [2] Drobisch und Hultgren, Neue Jahrb., cix, 1874, pp. 747 f.
[3] Müller, *l. l.* pp. 154 f.; A. Viertel, Neue Jahrb., 1862, pp. 801–11.

which is oftener a proper name. Ennius follows in his footsteps, and the same is true for Lucretius, except that the number has been very much reduced. The *versus spondiacus*, however, was a special affectation of the school of Catullus, and they finally fixed the law that it must end in a proper name of four syllables, *i.e.* a dispondee. Moreover, with a few notable exceptions, such as *Appenninus*, the name must be Greek. This law remained for the rest of the literature, but, after Catullus, the line itself lingered chiefly in Vergil and Ovid. It is not found in the satires of Horace, and in the first-century epic is very rare. Persius in 1, 92 ridicules it as an affectation.

The one notable exception is Juvenal.[1] He has more than thirty cases, a larger proportion than is found in any poet after Catullus himself. Moreover, he not only does not bind himself to the Catullian law of the final word, but also disregards the tendency of the earlier Homeric type as exhibited in Ennius and Lucretius. In all of this he stands alone, and both the frequency and the freedom of this line seem to indicate a purpose in its use. Juvenal appears to have felt that the *versus spondiacus*, in spite of its affectation by those later poets whom he despised, really belonged to high epic. The one purpose which a majority of his examples have in common is emphasis. His mood may be serious, sardonic, mock-heroic, or what not, and the purpose of the emphasis will vary accordingly, but the residuum is emphasis. Moreover, the freedom of cadence reflects the variation of mood and seems to have been suggested by it. For example:

1, 52 (parody of conventional epic); 2, 145 (the heroes of old Rome); 3, 17 (sneering ?); 3, 120 (these most worshipful rascals); 3, 273 (a trifle and yet so vital. Satiric exaggeration. Note the freedom of the form as reflecting all

[1] Examples given by Eskuche, *l. l.*

this, and compare the form of Horace's famous line, *Parturiunt montes, nascetur ridiculus mus*, as suggestive of much ado about nothing) ; 4, 53 (mock-heroic) ; 4, 87 (cf. 3, 273) ; 5, 38 (the speaker lingers on the beauty and value of those cups) ; 6, 80 (sardonic) ; 6, 246 (mock-heroic ?) ; 6, 429 (disgust) ; 6, 462 (cf. 6, 429) ; 8, 218 (the 'old play') ; 9, 111 (mock-heroic) ; 10, 88 (serious emphasis) ; 10, 151 (epic) ; 10, 304 and 332 (declamatory) ; 13, 191 (emphasis), etc.

153. **Agreement.** It is an universal rule of artistic poetry that whatever liberties we may take with a verse, the end of it should be well marked and clearly reflect the type. Conflict has a certain tendency to obscure the rhythm ; moreover, the hexameter should be brought to a restful close. The law of conflict, therefore, ceases with the fourth foot, and for the last two feet agreement of verse-ictus and word-accent is sought. From this point of view the favorite types are :

A dissyllable preceded by a trisyllable at least, or, at most, a word which shall not go back of the fourth arsis :

I. Aeacus, unde alius furtivae | devehat aurum
Cur tamen hoc potius libeat de|currere campo
Hos animos? neque enim loculis comi|tantibus itur.

A trisyllable preceded by a dissyllable at least, or, at most, a word which shall not go back of the fourth arsis :

II. Quidquid agunt homines, votum timor | ira voluptas
Navigio montem ascendit, sor|tisque poposcit
Crispinus Tyrias umero revo|cante lacernas.

A frequent sub-variety of II is illustrated by

Consilium dedimus Sullae pri|vatus ut altum,

i.e. replacement of the trisyllable by a dissyllable preceded by a proclitic monosyllable.

Over 90% of all Latin hexameters end in these two forms.

Other cadences are exceptional. They involve some conflict, and they are largely confined to the early poets and satire.

Of these exceptional cadences the most endurable is represented by

III. Nota magis nulli domus est sua | quam mihi lucus.

The rule of the monosyllable here—which softens the conflict as much as possible—is never broken by Martial, and by Juvenal only in 3, 135 and 7, 160 (cf., however, 10, 140).

IV. Dormiret, stulta est clementia | cum tot ubique

is very rare. The only cases in Juvenal are 1, 17, 30 ; 3, 54 ; 13, 65.

To end the hexameter with a monosyllable was always bad. It involved conflict, as do all other exceptional cadences, and was not sonorous. But if the monosyllable was preceded by another monosyllable, the cadence was endurable, though always exceptional. The most frequent, therefore, of the monosyllabic cadences are :

V. Et nos ergo manum ferulae subduximus et nos,

(rarest in the second satire, most frequent in the eighth) and its sub-varieties (of which Juvenal furnishes an occasional example) :

Argillam atque rotam citius properate, sed ex hoc

and

Quantum grammaticus meruit labor ? et tamen ex hoc.

The habitat of v and its sub-varieties is Horace (about 5 %), Juvenal (3½ %), Persius (3 %), and Lucretius (1½ %).

Other lines ending with a monosyllable are represented by the following types :

VI. Tam patiens urbis, tam ferreus, ut teneat se,

VII. Quid tamen exspectant, Phrygio quos tempus erat iam,

VIII. Conductas Corvinus oves, ego possideo plus.

The rarity of VI, VII, and VIII may be seen from the fact that only about 900 of them occur in the 207,269 Latin hexameters examined by Manitius.[1] Of these 900, Lucretius has 165 (2 % of his verses); Horace, 160 (4 %); Juvenal, 139 (3 %); Vergil, 48 ($\frac{3}{10}$ %). This was a freedom of satire which goes back to Ennius. Indeed, many of Vergil's examples are undoubted imitations of Ennius, or else intended to give a touch of the antique. This is especially true of VIII, which through such a famous line as Vergil, *Aen.* VI, 846:

Unus qui nobis cunctando restituis rem,

must have suggested Ennius and the old poets to many of Juvenal's hearers. In some cases at least the antique and solemn touch, used seriously or satirically according to the author's mood at the time, seems to have been felt. Compare 1, 108, 159; 2, 28, 132; 3, 90, 191, 203; 5, 20, 88, 114; 6, 32, 309; 7, 208; 8, 9, 62, 112; 10, 82, 119, 225, etc. In others, and possibly in some which I have just mentioned, the touch was not so much the antique and solemn (serious or otherwise) as the plain, old-fashioned, and homely.

The tetrasyllabic cadence,

IX. Cum populum gregibus comitum premit hic spoliator,

was, as we saw, a rule of the Catullian *versus spondiacus*. Otherwise it is extremely rare, and chiefly confined to satire and the early poets. Manitius gives Lucretius 153 cases; Vergil 51; Horace 34; Juvenal 55. The word is usually a proper name, except in Lucretius, who has none. Juvenal imitates the freedom of Lucretius in this respect. Also he frequently neglects the rule of a preceding monosyllable.

To end the line in a word of five syllables is still more uncommon:

X. Quandoquidem inter nos sanctissima divitiarum.

[1] Rhein. Mus., XLVI, 1891, pp. 622 f.

The sphere again is Lucretius and satire. Lucretius, probably after Ennius, neglects the rule of a proper name. On the other hand, most of his examples occur in passages which are not epic, but dogmatic. Here also Juvenal imitates the freedom of Lucretius. Only 6 of his 25 cases are proper names.

One line ending in a word of six syllables (7, 218) is found in Juvenal (but see the note). Manitius quotes three others from Lucretius and four or five more only from the later poets.

154. To begin a new sentence or clause at the fifth foot, as in 2, 15,

Atque supercilio brevior coma. verius ergo,

was usually avoided by the best poets. It occurs in Juvenal with some frequency, generally for effect, as in 1, 149, etc.

155. **Elision**[1] is the law of the Latin language. If it was desirable to avoid it, the sentence had to be so arranged as to prevent concurrence of vowels. Frequency of elision and freedom in its use was characteristic of the spoken language, and of comedy and satire, the two literary departments most nearly allied to it. Ennius allowed harsh elision, but the influence of Homer, and possibly of the Saturnian, made his use of elision very limited. Lucilius had a great many, but far less than comedy. Lucretius followed Lucilius, Catullus followed Ennius. Vergil avoided harsh elisions, but otherwise is notable for his freedom. Ovid largely reduced elision, and the process of diminution finally reached the vanishing point in some of the later Latin poets.

Juvenal shows a freedom which may be generally defined as due to his department, less, than that of earlier satire, far greater, than that of contemporary epic or epigram. Otherwise, with one or two exceptions, the following figures of Eskuche represent about the usual relative proportions:

[1] Corssen, II, pp. 771 f.; Müller, *l. l.* pp. 340 f.

After 1st arsis, 300 ; 2d, 151 ; 3d, 123 ; 4th, 67 ; 5th, 10. After 1st thesis, 180 ; 2d, 89 ; 3d, 83 ; 4th, 314 ; 5th, 22 ; 6th, never.

In the last two feet, as will be seen, Juvenal avoids elision. This began with Catullus and was finally settled by Vergil.[1] He also agrees with all poets after the satires of Horace in avoiding any elision in the first thesis.[2] On the other hand, except in the last two feet, Juvenal shows the freedom of satire in taking no special pains to avoid the elision of a long vowel. Also his frequent elision (83 cases) after the 3d thesis is always harsh because it tends to obscure the caesura.

Only about 100 verses, according to Eskuche, contain as many as two elisions. Less than a score have three elisions (cf. 2, 34 ; 10, 197 ; 13, 89, 108 ; 14, 127 ; 16, 35). One only (11, 161) contains five.

156. **Hiatus**[3] is the occasional exception to the universal rule of elision. The sphere of it in hexameter is largely Ennius, Lucilius, and Vergil. It occurs most readily with a long vowel and before the caesura or some other decided pause. Juvenal follows the rules. His cases are 12, 36 ; 3, 70 ; 6, 274, 468 ; 10, 281 ; 12, 110 ; 14, 49 ; 15, 126 ; 1, 151 ; 2, 26 ; 5, 158 ; 8, 241 (but see note).

157. **Prosody.** Synaeresis shows nothing unusual and diaeresis does not occur. The one unusual case of syncope is *striglibus* (3, 263). Systole occurs only in the usual *alterĭus* (6, 431 ; 10, 210 ; 11, 169 ; 15, 39) and once, *illĭus* (6, 572).

Final *i* in *ubi* and *ibi* is always short, in *ubique* and *ibidem*, always long ; in *mihi*, *tibi*, *sibi*, long in the thesis, short in the arsis.

Final *o*, not dative and ablative, is short in the arsis, long in the thesis. But only verbal and adverbial *o* is found long

[1] G. Eskuche, *Die Elisionen in den zwei letzten Füssen des lateinischen Hexameters von Ennius zu Walahfridus Strabo*, Rhein. Mus., XLV, 1890, 236–64.

[2] Fröhde, Philologus, XI, 533 ; Müller, *l. l.* p. 351.

[3] Cicero, *Orat.* 44, 150 ; Quin. IX, 4, 33 ; Müller, *l. l.* pp. 331 f. ; Kühner, *Lat. Gram.*, I, p. 88 ; Christ, *l. l.* pp. 200 f ; Corssen, II, pp. 770 f.

in the thesis; *o* of substantives, etc., is found short in the arsis or if it occurs in the thesis is elided. Of the six exceptions, 6, 371; 7, 1; 9, 108, and 13, 76 are explained by position. For 14, 207 and 3, 281, see the notes.

One notable exception to the rule of dative and ablative is *vigilandŏ* (3, 232).

Juvenal's employment of the laws of quantity by position is marked by the usual freedoms. On *ficĕdulas* (14, 9), *Bĭthyni* (7, 15), *Sĕnŏnumque* (8, 234), *Vascŏnĕs* (15, 93), *Brittŏnĕs* (15, 124), and *Calpĕ* (14, 279), see the notes.

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[1] A brief bibliography is added for the use of the teacher and advanced student. In this the editor aims to include all recent literature of importance, especially such as has appeared since the edition of Friedländer. The only recent general bibliography of Juvenal is that of A. H. Mabley, in the Western Reserve University Bulletin for October, 1895; this is reviewed in Berl. Phil. Woch., XVI, 1896, col. 681–4, and in Woch. f. klass. Phil., XIII, 1896, col. 490–1.

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D. IVNII IVVENALIS

SATVRARVM

LIBER PRIMVS

SATVRA I

Semper ego auditor tantum ? numquamne reponam
vexatus totiens rauci Theseide Cordi ?
inpune ergo mihi recitaverit ille togatas,
hic elegos ? inpune diem consumpserit ingens
Telephus aut summi plena iam margine libri
scriptus et in tergo necdum finitus Orestes ?
nota magis nulli domus est sua, quam mihi lucus
Martis et Aeoliis vicinum rupibus antrum
Vulcani ; quid agant venti, quas torqueat umbras
Aeacus, unde alius furtivae devehat aurum
pelliculae, quantas iaculetur Monychus ornos,
Frontonis platani convulsaque marmora clamant
semper et adsiduo ruptae lectore columnae.
expectes eadem a summo minimoque poeta.
et nos ergo manum ferulae subduximus, et nos
consilium dedimus Sullae, privatus ut altum
dormiret. stulta est clementia, cum tot ubique
vatibus occurras, perituraе parcere chartae.
cur tamen hoc potius libeat decurrere campo,
per quem magnus equos Auruncae flexit alumnus,
si vacat ac placidi rationem admittitis, edam.

cum tener uxorem ducat spado, Mevia Tuscum
figat aprum et nuda teneat venabula mamma,
patricios omnis opibus cum provocet unus
quo tondente gravis iuveni mihi barba sonabat,
cum pars Niliacae plebis, cum verna Canopi
Crispinus Tyrias umero revocante lacernas
ventilet aestivum digitis sudantibus aurum
nec sufferre queat maioris pondera gemmae,
difficile est saturam non scribere. nam quis iniquae
tam patiens urbis, tam ferreus, ut teneat se,
causidici nova cum veniat lectica Mathonis
plena ipso, post hunc magni delator amici
et cito rapturus de nobilitate comesa
quod superest, quem Massa timet, quem munere palpat
Carus et a trepido Thymele summissa Latino ?
cum te summoveant qui testamenta merentur
noctibus, in caelum quos evehit optima summi
nunc via processus, vetulae vesica beatae ?
unciolam Proculeius habet, sed Gillo deuncem,
partes quisque suas ad mensuram inguinis heres.
accipiat sane mercedem sanguinis et sic
palleat, ut nudis pressit qui calcibus anguem,
aut Lugudunensem rhetor dicturus ad aram.
quid referam quanta siccum iecur ardeat ira,
cum populum gregibus comitum premit hic spoliator
pupilli prostantis et hic damnatus inani
iudicio ? quid enim salvis infamia nummis ?
exul ab octava Marius bibit et fruitur dis
iratis, at tu victrix provincia ploras.
haec ego non credam Venusina digna lucerna ?
haec ego non agitem ? sed quid magis ? Heracleas
aut Diomedeas aut mugitum labyrinthi
et mare percussum puero fabrumque volantem,
cum leno accipiat moechi bona, si capiendi
ius nullum uxori, doctus spectare lacunar,

doctus et ad calicem vigilanti stertere naso ?
cum fas esse putet curam sperare cohortis
qui bona donavit praesepibus et caret omni
maiorum censu, dum pervolat axe citato
Flaminiam puer Automedon ? nam lora tenebat
ipse, lacernatae cum se iactaret amicae.
nonne libet medio ceras inplere capaces
quadrivio, cum iam sexta cervice feratur
hinc atque inde patens ac nuda paene cathedra
et multum referens de Maecenate supino
signator falsi, qui se lautum atque beatum
exiguis tabulis et gemma fecerit uda ?
occurrit matrona potens, quae molle Calenum
porrectura viro miscet sitiente rubetam
instituitque rudes melior Lucusta propinquas
per famam et populum nigros efferre maritos.
aude aliquid brevibus Gyaris et carcere dignum,
si vis esse aliquid. probitas laudatur et alget.
criminibus debent hortos praetoria mensas
argentum vetus et stantem extra pocula caprum.
quem patitur dormire nurus corruptor avarae,
quem sponsae turpes et praetextatus adulter ?
si natura negat, facit indignatio versum
qualemcumque potest, quales ego vel Cluvienus.
ex quo Deucalion nimbis tollentibus aequor
navigio montem ascendit sortesque poposcit
paulatimque anima caluerunt mollia saxa
et maribus nudas ostendit Pyrrha puellas,
quidquid agunt homines, votum timor ira voluptas
gaudia discursus, nostri farrago libelli est.
et quando uberior vitiorum copia ? quando
maior avaritiae patuit sinus ? alea quando
hos animos ? neque enim loculis comitantibus itur
ad casum tabulae, posita sed luditur arca.
proelia quanta illic dispensatore videbis

armigero. simplexne furor sestertia centum
perdere et horrenti tunicam non reddere servo ?
quis totidem erexit villas, quis fercula septem
secreto cenavit avus ? nunc sportula primo
limine parva sedet turbae rapienda togatae.
ille tamen faciem prius inspicit et trepidat ne
suppositus venias ac falso nomine poscas :
agnitus accipies. iubet a praecone vocari
ipsos Troiugenas, nam vexant limen et ipsi
nobiscum. 'da praetori, da deinde tribuno.'
sed libertinus prior est. 'prior' inquit 'ego adsum.
cur timeam dubitemve locum defendere, quamvis
natus ad Euphraten, molles quod in aure fenestrae
arguerint, licet ipse negem ? sed quinque tabernae
quadringenta parant. quid confert purpura maior
optandum, si Laurenti custodit in agro
conductas Corvinus oves, ego possideo plus
Pallante et Licinis ?' expectent ergo tribuni,
vincant divitiae, sacro ne cedat honori
nuper in hanc urbem pedibus qui venerat albis,
quandoquidem inter nos sanctissima divitiarum
maiestas, etsi funesta pecunia templo
nondum habitat, nullas nummorum ereximus aras,
ut colitur Pax atque Fides Victoria Virtus
quaeque salutato crepitat Concordia nido.
sed cum summus honor finito conputet anno,
sportula quid referat, quantum rationibus addat,
quid facient comites quibus hinc toga, calceus hinc est
et panis fumusque domi ? densissima centum
quadrantes lectica petit, sequiturque maritum
languida vel praegnas et circumducitur uxor.
hic petit absenti nota iam callidus arte
ostendens vacuam et clausam pro coniuge sellam.
'Galla mea est' inquit 'citius dimitte. moraris ?
profer, Galla, caput. noli vexare, quiescet.'

ipse dies pulchro distinguitur ordine rerum :
sportula, deinde forum iurisque peritus Apollo
atque triumphales, inter quas ausus habere
nescio quis titulos Aegyptius atque Arabarches,
cuius ad effigiem non tantum meiere fas est.
vestibulis abeunt veteres lassique clientes
votaque deponunt, quamquam longissima cenae
spes homini ; caulis miseris atque ignis emendus.
optima silvarum interea pelagique vorabit
rex horum vacuisque toris tantum ipse iacebit.
nam de tot pulchris et latis orbibus et tam
antiquis una comedunt patrimonia mensa.
nullus iam parasitus erit. sed quis ferat istas
luxuriae sordes ? quanta est gula quae sibi totos
ponit apros, animal propter convivia natum ?
poena tamen praesens, cum tu deponis amictus
turgidus et crudum pavonem in balnea portas.
hinc subitae mortes atque intestata senectus,
et nova nec tristis per cunctas fabula cenas :
ducitur iratis plaudendum funus amicis.
nil erit ulterius quod nostris moribus addat
posteritas, eadem facient cupientque minores :
omne in praecipiti vitium stetit. utere velis,
totos pande sinus. dicas hic forsitan ‘ unde
ingenium par materiae ? unde illa priorum
scribendi quodcumque animo flagrante liberet
simplicitas ? ’ cuius non audeo dicere nomen ?
quid refert, dictis ignoscat Mucius an non ?
‘ pone Tigellinum : taeda lucebis in illa,
qua stantes ardent qui fixo pectore fumant,
et latum media sulcum deducis harena.’
qui dedit ergo tribus patruis aconita, vehatur
pensilibus plumis atque illinc despiciat nos ?
‘ cum veniet contra, digito compesce labellum :
accusator erit qui verbum dixerit “ hic est.”

securus licet Aenean Rutulumque ferocem
committas, nulli gravis est percussus Achilles
aut multum quaesitus Hylas urnamque secutus :
ense velut stricto quotiens Lucilius ardens
infremuit, rubet auditor cui frigida mens est
criminibus, tacita sudant praecordia culpa.
inde irae et lacrimae. tecum prius ergo voluta
haec animo ante tubas ; galeatum sero duelli
paenitet.' experiar quid concedatur in illos
quorum Flaminia tegitur cinis atque Latina.

SATVRA II

Vltra Sauromatas fugere hinc libet et glacialem
Oceanum, quotiens aliquid de moribus audent
qui Curios simulant et Bacchanalia vivunt.
indocti primum, quamquam plena omnia gypso
Chrysippi invenias ; nam perfectissimus horum,
si quis Aristotelen similem vel Pittacon emit
et iubet archetypos pluteum servare Cleanthas.
frontis nulla fides ; quis enim non vicus abundat
tristibus obscaenis ? castigas turpia, cum sis
inter Socraticos notissima fossa cinaedos ?
hispida membra quidem et durae per bracchia saetae
promittunt atrocem animum, sed podice levi
caeduntur tumidae medico ridente mariscae.
rarus sermo illis et magna libido tacendi
atque supercilio brevior coma. verius ergo
et magis ingenue Peribomius ; hunc ego fatis
inputo, qui vultu morbum incessuque fatetur.
horum simplicitas miserabilis, his furor ipse
dat veniam ; sed peiores, qui talia verbis
Herculis invadunt et de virtute locuti
clunem agitant. 'ego te ceventem, Sexte, verebor ?'
infamis Varillus ait 'quo deterior te ?

loripedem rectus derideat, Aethiopem albus.
quis tulerit Gracchos de seditione querentes ?
quis caelum terris non misceat et mare caelo,
si fur displiceat Verri, homicida Miloni,
Clodius accuset moechos, Catilina Cethegum,
in tabulam Sullae si dicant discipuli tres ?'
qualis erat nuper tragico pollutus adulter
concubitu, qui tunc leges revocabat amaras
omnibus atque ipsis Veneri Martique timendas,
cum tot abortivis fecundam Iulia vulvam
solveret et patruo similes effunderet offas.
nonne igitur iure ac merito vitia ultima fictos
contemnunt Scauros et castigata remordent ?
non tulit ex illis torvum Laronia quendam
clamantem totiens 'ubi nunc lex Iulia ? dormis ?'
atque ita subridens : 'felicia tempora, quae te
moribus opponunt. habeat iam Roma pudorem,
tertius e caelo cecidit Cato. sed tamen unde
haec emis, hirsuto spirant opobalsama collo
quae tibi ? ne pudeat dominum monstrare tabernae.
quod si vexantur leges ac iura, citari
ante omnes debet Scantinia. respice primum
et scrutare viros. faciunt hi plura, sed illos
defendit numerus iunctaeque umbone phalanges.
magna inter molles concordia. non erit ullum
exemplum in nostro tam detestabile sexu.
Mevia non lambit Cluviam nec Flora Catullam :
Hispo subit iuvenes et morbo pallet utroque.
numquid nos agimus causas, civilia iura
novimus aut ullo strepitu fora vestra movemus ?
luctantur paucae, comedunt colyphia paucae.
vos lanam trahitis calathisque peracta refertis
vellera, vos tenui praegnantem stamine fusum
Penelope melius, levius torquetis Arachne,
horrida quale facit residens in codice paelex.

notum est cur solo tabulas inpleverit Hister
liberto, dederit vivus cur multa puellae.
dives erit magno quae dormit tertia lecto.
tu nube atque tace : donant arcana cylindros.
de nobis post haec tristis sententia fertur?
dat veniam corvis, vexat censura columbas.'
fugerunt trepidi vera ac manifesta canentem
stoicidae ; quid enim falsi Laronia ? sed quid
non facient alii, cum tu multicia sumas,
Cretice, et hanc vestem populo mirante perores
in Proculas et Pollittas ? est moecha Fabulla,
damnetur si vis, etiam Carfinia talem
non sumet damnata togam. ' sed Iulius ardet,
aestuo.' nudus agas : minus est insania turpis.
en habitum quo te leges ac iura ferentem
vulneribus crudis populus modo victor et illud
montanum positis audiret vulgus aratris.
quid non proclames, in corpore iudicis ista
si videas ? quaero an deceant multicia testem.
acer et indomitus libertatisque magister,
Cretice, perluces. dedit hanc contagio labem
et dabit in plures, sicut grex totus in agris
unius scabie cadit et porrigine porci
uvaque conspecta livorem ducit ab uva.
foedius hoc aliquid quandoque audebis amictu,
nemo repente fuit turpissimus. accipient te
paulatim qui longa domi redimicula sumunt
frontibus et toto posuere monilia collo
atque bonam tenerae placant abdomine porcae
et magno cratere deam. sed more sinistro
exagitata procul non intrat femina limen :
solis ara deae maribus patet. ' ite profanae '
clamatur ' nullo gemit hic tibicina cornu.'
talia secreta coluerunt orgia taeda
Cecropiam soliti Baptae lassare Cotyton.

ille supercilium madida fuligine tinctum
obliqua producit acu pingitque trementis
attollens oculos ; vitreo bibit ille priapo
reticulumque comis auratum ingentibus implet
caerulea indutus scutulata aut galbina rasa
et per Iunonem domini iurante ministro ;
ille tenet speculum, pathici gestamen Othonis,
Actoris Aurunci spolium, quo se ille videbat
armatum cum iam tolli vexilla iuberet—
res memoranda novis annalibus atque recenti
historia, speculum civilis sarcina belli.
nimirum summi ducis est occidere Galbam
et curare cutem, summi constantia civis
Bebriacis campis spolium adfectare Palati
et pressum in facie digitis extendere panem,
quod nec in Assyrio pharetrata Samiramis orbe,
maesta nec Actiaca fecit Cleopatra carina—.
hic nullus verbis pudor aut reverentia mensae,
hic turpis Cybeles et fracta voce loquendi
libertas et crine senex fanaticus albo
sacrorum antistes, rarum ac memorabile magni
gutturis exemplum conducendusque magister.
quid tamen expectant, Phrygio quos tempus erat iam
more supervacuam cultris abrumpere carnem ?
quadringenta dedit Gracchus sestertia dotem
cornicini, sive hic recto cantaverat aere ;
signatae tabulae, dictum 'feliciter,' ingens
cena sedet, gremio iacuit nova nupta mariti.
o proceres, censore opus est an haruspice nobis ?
scilicet horreres maioraque monstra putares,
si mulier vitulum vel si bos ederet agnum ?
segmenta et longos habitus et flammea sumit,
arcano qui sacra ferens nutantia loro
sudavit clupeis ancilibus. o pater urbis,
unde nefas tantum Latiis pastoribus ? unde

haec tetigit, Gradive, tuos urtica nepotes ?
traditur ecce viro clarus genere atque opibus vir,
nec galeam quassas, nec terram cuspide pulsas,
nec quereris patri ? vade ergo et cede severi
iugeribus campi, quem neglegis. 'officium cras
primo sole mihi peragendum in valle Quirini.'
quae causa officii ? 'quid quaeris ? nubit amicus
nec multos adhibet.' liceat modo vivere : fient,
fient ista palam, cupient et in acta referri.
interea tormentum ingens nubentibus haeret,
quod nequeant parere et partu retinere maritos.
sed melius, quod nil animis in corpora iuris
natura indulget : steriles moriuntur, et illis
turgida non prodest condita pyxide Lyde,
nec prodest agili palmas praebere luperco.
vicit et hoc monstrum tunicati fuscina Gracchi,
lustravitque fuga mediam gladiator harenam
et Capitolinis generosior et Marcellis
et Catuli Paulique minoribus et Fabiis et
omnibus ad podium spectantibus, his licet ipsum
admoveas cuius tunc munere retia misit.
esse aliquos manes et subterranea regna
et contum et Stygio ranas in gurgite nigras
atque una transire vadum tot milia cumba
nec pueri credunt, nisi qui nondum aere lavantur.
sed tu vera puta. Curius quid sentit et ambo
Scipiadae, quid Fabricius manesque Camilli,
quid Cremerae legio et Cannis consumpta iuventus,
tot bellorum animae, quotiens hinc talis ad illos
umbra venit ? cuperent lustrari, si qua darentur
sulpura cum taedis et si foret umida laurus.
illic heu miseri traducimur. arma quidem ultra
litora Iuvernae promovimus et modo captas
Orcadas ac minima contentos nocte Britannos,
sed quae nunc populi fiunt victoris in urbe,

non faciunt illi quos vicimus. et tamen unus
Armenius Zalaces cunctis narratur ephebis
mollior ardenti sese indulsisse tribuno.
aspice quid faciant commercia : venerat obses,
hic fiunt homines. nam si mora longior urbem
indulsit pueris, non numquam derit amator.
mittentur bracae cultelli frena flagellum :
sic praetextatos referunt Artaxata mores.

SATVRA III

Quamvis digressu veteris confusus amici,
laudo tamen, vacuis quod sedem figere Cumis
destinet atque unum civem donare Sibyllae.
ianua Baiarum est et gratum litus amoeni
secessus. ego vel Prochytam praepono Suburae ;
nam quid tam miserum, tam solum vidimus, ut non
deterius credas horrere incendia, lapsus
tectorum adsiduos ac mille pericula saevae
urbis et Augusto recitantes mense poetas ?
sed dum tota domus raeda componitur una,
substitit ad veteres arcus madidamque Capenam.
hic ubi nocturnae Numa constituebat amicae—
nunc sacri fontis nemus et delubra locantur
Iudaeis quorum cophinus faenumque supellex,
omnis enim populo mercedem pendere iussa est
arbor et eiectis mendicat silva Camenis—
in vallem Egeriae descendimus et speluncas
dissimiles veris. quanto praesentius esset
numen aquis, viridi si margine cluderet undas
herba nec ingenuum violarent marmora tofum.
hic tunc Vmbricius 'quando artibus' inquit 'honestis
nullus in urbe locus, nulla emolumenta laborum,
res hodie minor est, here quam fuit, atque eadem cras
deteret exiguis aliquid, proponimus illuc

ire, fatigatas ubi Daedalus exuit alas,
dum nova canities, dum prima et recta senectus,
dum superest Lachesi quod torqueat, et pedibus me
porto meis nullo dextram subeunte bacillo.
cedamus patria. vivant Artorius istic
et Catulus, maneant qui nigrum in candida vertunt,
quis facile est aedem conducere flumina portus,
siccandam eluviem, portandum ad busta cadaver,
et praebere caput domina venale sub hasta.
quondam hi cornicines et municipalis harenae
perpetui comites notaeque per oppida buccae,
munera nunc edunt et verso pollice vulgus
cum iubet, occidunt populariter ; inde reversi
conducunt foricas, et cur non omnia ? cum sint,
quales ex humili magna ad fastigia rerum
extollit quotiens voluit Fortuna iocari.
quid Romae faciam ? mentiri nescio ; librum,
si malus est, nequeo laudare et poscere ; motus
astrorum ignoro ; funus promittere patris
nec volo nec possum ; ranarum viscera numquam
inspexi ; ferre ad nuptam quae mittit adulter,
quae mandat, norunt alii ; me nemo ministro
fur erit, atque ideo nulli comes exeo tamquam
mancus et extinctae, corpus non utile, dextrae.
quis nunc diligitur nisi conscius et cui fervens
aestuat occultis animus semperque tacendis ?
nil tibi se debere putat, nil conferet umquam,
participem qui te secreti fecit honesti :
carus erit Verri, qui Verrem tempore quo vult
accusare potest. tanti tibi non sit opaci
omnis harena Tagi quodque in mare volvitur aurum,
ut somno careas ponendaque praemia sumas
tristis et a magno semper timearis amico.
quae nunc divitibus gens acceptissima nostris,
et quos praecipue fugiam, properabo fateri,

nec pudor opstabit. non possum ferre, Quirites,
Graecam urbem ; quamvis quota portio faecis Achaei ?
iam pridem Syrus in Tiberim defluxit Orontes
et linguam et mores et cum tibicine chordas
obliquas nec non gentilia tympana secum
vexit et ad circum iussas prostare puellas.
ite, quibus grata est picta lupa barbara mitra.
rusticus ille tuus sumit trechedipna, Quirine,
et ceromatico fert niceteria collo.
hic alta Sicyone, ast hic Amydone relicta,
hic Andro, ille Samo, hic Trallibus aut Alabandis
Esquilias dictumque petunt a vimine collem,
viscera magnarum domuum dominique futuri.
ingenium velox, audacia perdita, sermo
promptus et Isaeo torrentior. ede quid illum
esse putes. quemvis hominem secum attulit ad nos :
grammaticus rhetor geometres pictor aliptes
augur schoenobates medicus magus, omnia novit
Graeculus esuriens ; in caelum, iusseris, ibit.
in summa non Maurus erat neque Sarmata nec Thrax
qui sumpsit pinnas, mediis sed natus Athenis.
horum ego non fugiam conchylia ? me prior ille
signabit fultusque toro meliore recumbet,
advectus Romam quo pruna et cottona vento ?
usque adeo nihil est, quod nostra infantia caelum
hausit Aventini baca nutrita Sabina ?
quid quod adulandi gens prudentissima laudat
sermonem indocti, faciem deformis amici,
et longum invalidi collum cervicibus aequat
Herculis Antaeum procul a tellure tenentis,
miratur vocem angustam, qua deterius nec
ille sonat quo mordetur gallina marito ?
haec eadem licet et nobis laudare, sed illis
creditur. an melior, cum Thaida sustinet aut cum
uxorem comoedus agit vel Dorida nullo

cultam palliolo ? mulier nempe ipsa videtur,
non persona loqui ; vacua et plana omnia dicas
infra ventriculum et tenui distantia rima.
nec tamen Antiochus nec erit mirabilis illic
aut Stratocles aut cum molli Demetrius Haemo .
natio comoeda est. rides, maiore cachinno
concutitur ; flet, si lacrimas conspexit amici,
nec dolet ; igniculum brumae si tempore poscas,
accipit endromidem ; si dixeris "aestuo," sudat.
non sumus ergo pares : melior, qui semper et omni
nocte dieque potest aliena sumere vultum
a facie, iactare manus, laudare paratus,
si bene ructavit, si rectum minxit amicus,
si trulla inverso crepitum dedit aurea fundo.
praeterea sanctum nihil est nec ab inguine tutum,
non matrona laris, non filia virgo, neque ipse
sponsus levis adhuc, non filius ante pudicus ;
horum si nihil est, aviam resupinat amici.
scire volunt secreta domus atque inde timeri.
et quoniam coepit Graecorum mentio, transi
gymnasia atque audi facinus maioris abollae.
stoicus occidit Baream delator amicum
discipulumque senex ripa nutritus in illa,
ad quam Gorgonei delapsa est pinna caballi.
non est Romano cuiquam locus hic, ubi regnat
Protogenes aliquis vel Diphilus aut Hermarchus,
qui gentis vitio numquam partitur amicum,
solus habet. nam cum facilem stillavit in aurem
exiguum de naturae patriaeque veneno,
limine summoveor, perierunt tempora longi
servitii ; nusquam minor est iactura clientis.
quod porro officium, ne nobis blandiar, aut quod
pauperis hic meritum, si curet nocte togatus
currere, cum praetor lictorem impellat et ire
praecipitem iubeat dudum vigilantibus orbis,

ne prior Albinam et Modiam collega salutet?
divitis hic servo cludit latus ingenuorum
filius ; alter enim quantum in legione tribuni
accipiunt, donat Calvinae vel Catienae,
ut semel aut iterum super illam palpitet ; at tu,
cum tibi vestiti facies scorti placet, haeres
et dubitas alta Chionen deducere sella.
da testem Romae tam sanctum, quam fuit hospes
numinis Idaei, procedat vel Numa vel qui
servavit trepidam flagranti ex aede Minervam:
protinus ad censum, de moribus ultima fiet
quaestio. "quot pascit servos? quot possidet agri
iugera? quam multa magnaque paropside cenat?"
quantum quisque sua nummorum servat in arca,
tantum habet et fidei. iures licet et Samothracum
et nostrorum aras, contemnere fulmina pauper
creditur atque deos dis ignoscentibus ipsis.
quid quod materiam praebet causasque iocorum
omnibus hic idem, si foeda et scissa lacerna,
si toga sordidula est et ruptā calceus alter
pelle patet, vel si consuto vulnere crassum
atque recens linum ostendit non una cicatrix?
nil habet infelix paupertas durius in se,
quam quod ridiculos homines facit. "exeat" inquit
"si pudor est, et de pulvino surgat equestri
cuius res legi non sufficit, et sedeant hic
lenonum pueri quocumque ex fornice nati,
hic plaudat nitidi praeconis filius inter
pinnirapi cultos iuvenes iuvenesque lanistae :"
sic libitum vano, qui nos distinxit, Othoni.
quis gener hic placuit censu minor atque puellae
sarcinulis impar? quis pauper scribitur heres?
quando in consilio est aedilibus? agmine facto
debuerant olim tenues migrasse Quirites.
haut facile emergunt quorum virtutibus opstat

res angusta domi, sed Romae durior illis
conatus : magno hospitium miserabile, magno
servorum ventres, et frugi cenula magno.
fictilibus cenare pudet, quod turpe negabis
translatus subito ad Marsos mensamque Sabellam
contentusque illic Veneto duroque cucullo.
pars magna Italiae est, si verum admittimus, in qua
nemo togam sumit nisi mortuus. ipsa dierum
festorum herboso colitur si quando theatro
maiestas tandemque redit ad pulpita notum
exodium, cum personae pallentis hiatum
in gremio matris formidat rusticus infans,
aequales habitus illic similesque videbis
orchestram et populum, clari velamen honoris
sufficiunt tunicae summis aedilibus albae.
hic ultra vires habitus nitor, hic aliquid plus
quam satis est interdum aliena sumitur arca.
commune id vitium est, hic vivimus ambitiosa
paupertate omnes. quid te moror ? omnia Romae
cum pretio. quid das, ut Cossum aliquando salutes ?
ut te respiciat clauso Veiento labello ?
ille metit barbam, crinem hic deponit amati ;
plena domus libis venalibus : accipe et istud
fermentum tibi habe. praestare tributa clientes
cogimur et cultis augere peculia servis.
quis timet aut timuit gelida Praeneste ruinam
aut positis nemorosa inter iuga Volsiniis aut
simplicibus Gabiis aut proni Tiburis arce ?
nos urbem colimus tenui tibicine fultam
magna parte sui ; nam sic labentibus obstat
vilicus, et veteris rimae cum texit hiatum,
securos pendente iubet dormire ruina.
vivendum est illic ubi nulla incendia, nulli
nocte metus. iam poscit aquam, iam frivola transfert
Vcalegon, tabulata tibi iam tertia fumant :

tu nescis ; nam si gradibus trepidatur ab imis,
ultimus ardebit quem tegula sola tuetur
a pluvia, molles ubi reddunt ova columbae.
lectus erat Codro Procula minor, urceoli sex
ornamentum abaci nec non et parvulus infra
cantharus, et recubans sub eodem marmore Chiro,
iamque vetus Graecos servabat cista libellos,
et divina opici rodebant carmina mures.
nil habuit Codrus, quis enim negat ? et tamen illud
perdidit infelix totum nihil. ultimus autem
aerumnae est cumulus, quod nudum et frusta rogantem
nemo cibo, nemo hospitio tectoque iuvabit.
si magna Asturici cecidit domus, horrida mater,
pullati proceres, differt vadimonia praetor.
tum gemimus casus urbis, tunc odimus ignem.
ardet adhuc, et iam accurrit qui marmora donet,
conferat inpensas ; hic nuda et candida signa,
hic aliquid praeclarum Euphranoris et Polycliti,
haec Asianorum vetera ornamenta deorum,
hic libros dabit et forulos mediamque Minervam,
hic modium argenti. meliora ac plura reponit
Persicus orborum lautissimus et merito iam
suspectus, tamquam ipse suas incenderit aedes.
si potes avelli circensibus, optima Sorae
aut Fabrateriae domus aut Frusinone paratur,
quanti nunc tenebras unum conducis in annum.
hortulus hic puteusque brevis nec reste movendus
in tenuis plantas facili diffunditur haustu.
vive bidentis amans et culti vilicus horti,
unde epulum possis centum dare Pythagoreis.
est aliquid, quocumque loco, quocumque recessu
unius sese dominum fecisse lacertae.
plurimus hic aeger moritur vigilando, sed ipsum
languorem peperit cibus inperfectus et haerens
ardenti stomacho ; nam quae meritoria somnum

admittunt ? magnis opibus dormitur in urbe.
inde caput morbi. raedarum transitus arto
vicorum inflexu et stantis convicia mandrae
eripient somnum Druso vitulisque marinis.
si vocat officium, turba cedente vehetur
dives et ingenti curret super ora Liburna
atque obiter leget aut scribet vel dormiet intus ;
namque facit somnum clausa lectica fenestra.
ante tamen veniet : nobis properantibus opstat
unda prior, magno populus premit agmine lumbos
qui sequitur ; ferit hic cubito, ferit assere duro
alter, at hic tignum capiti incutit, ille metretam.
pinguia crura luto, planta mox undique magna
calcor, et in digito clavus mihi militis haeret.
nonne vides quanto celebretur sportula fumo ?
centum convivae, sequitur sua quemque culina.
Corbulo vix ferret tot vasa ingentia, tot res
inpositas capiti, quas recto vertice portat
servulus infelix et cursu ventilat ignem.
scinduntur tunicae sartae modo, longa coruscat
serraco veniente abies, atque altera pinum
plaustra vehunt, nutant alte populoque minantur.
nam si procubuit qui saxa Ligustica portat
axis et eversum fudit super agmina montem,
quid superest de corporibus ? quis membra, quis ossa
invenit ? obtritum vulgi perit omne cadaver
more animae. domus interea secura patellas
iam lavat et buccā foculum excitat et sonat unctis
striglibus et pleno componit lintea guto.
haec inter pueros varie properantur, at ille
iam sedet in ripa taetrumque novicius horret
porthmea nec sperat caenosi gurgitis alnum
infelix nec habet quem porrigat ore trientem.
respice nunc alia ac diversa pericula noctis :
quod spatium tectis sublimibus unde cerebrum

testa ferit, quotiens rimosa et curta fenestris
vasa cadant, quanto percussum pondere signent
et laedant silicem. possis ignavus haberi
et subiti casus improvidus, ad cenam si
intestatus eas : adeo tot fata, quot illa
nocte patent vigiles te praetereunte fenestrae.
ergo optes votumque feras miserabile tecum,
ut sint contentae patulas defundere pelves.
ebrius ac petulans qui nullum forte cecidit,
dat poenas, noctem patitur lugentis amicum
Pelidae, cubat in faciem, mox deinde supinus.
ergo non aliter poterit dormire ; quibusdam
somnum rixa facit. sed quamvis improbus annis
atque mero fervens cavet hunc, quem coccina laena
vitari iubet et comitum longissimus ordo,
multum praeterea flammarum et aenea lampas.
me, quem luna solet deducere vel breve lumen
candelae cuius dispenso et tempero filum,
contemnit. miserae cognosce prohoemia rixae,
si rixa est ubi tu pulsas, ego vapulo tantum.
stat contra starique iubet, parere necesse est ;
nam quid agas, cum te furiosus cogat et idem
fortior ? " unde venis ? " exclamat " cuius aceto,
cuius conche tumes ? quis tecum sectile porrum
sutor et elixi vervecis labra comedit ?
nil mihi respondes ? aut dic aut accipe calcem.
ede ubi consistas, in qua te quaero proseucha ? "
dicere si temptes aliquid tacitusve recedas,
tantumdem est : feriunt pariter, vadimonia deinde
irati faciunt. libertas pauperis haec est :
pulsatus rogat et pugnis concisus adorat
ut liceat paucis cum dentibus inde reverti.
nec tamen haec tantum metuas. nam qui spoliet te
non derit clausis domibus, postquam omnis ubique
fixa catenatae siluit compago tabernae.

interdum et ferro subitus grassator agit rem ;
armato quotiens tutae custode tenentur
et Pomptina palus et Gallinaria pinus,
sic inde huc omnes tamquam ad vivaria currunt.
qua fornace graves, qua non incude catenae ?
maximus in vinclis ferri modus, ut timeas ne
vomer deficiat, ne marrae et sarcula desint.
felices proavorum atavos, felicia dicas
saecula quae quondam sub regibus atque tribunis
viderunt uno contentam carcere Romam.
his alias poteram et pluris subnectere causas.
sed iumenta vocant et sol inclinat, eundum est ;
nam mihi commota iam dudum mulio virga
adnuit. ergo vale nostri memor, et quotiens te
Roma tuo refici properantem reddet Aquino,
me quoque ad Helvinam Cererem vestramque Dianam
converte a Cumis. saturarum ego, ni pudet illas,
auditor gelidos veniam caligatus in agros.'

SATVRA IV

Ecce iterum Crispinus, et est mihi saepe vocandus
ad partes, monstrum nulla virtute redemptum
a vitiis, aegrae solaque libidine fortes
deliciae ; viduas tantum spernatur adulter.
quid refert igitur quantis iumenta fatiget
porticibus, quanta nemorum vectetur in umbra,
iugera quot vicina foro, quas emerit aedes ?
nemo malus felix, minime corruptor et idem
incestus, cum quo nuper vittata iacebat
sanguine adhuc vivo terram subitura sacerdos.
sed nunc de factis levioribus. et tamen alter
si fecisset idem, caderet sub iudice morum ;
nam quod turpe bonis Titio Seioque, decebat
Crispinum. quid agas, cum dira et foedior omni

crimine persona est ? mullum sex milibus emit,
aequantem sane paribus sestertia libris,
ut perhibent qui de magnis maiora loquuntur.
consilium laudo artificis, si munere tanto
praecipuam in tabulis ceram senis abstulit orbi ;
est ratio ulterior, magnae si misit amicae,
quae vehitur cluso latis specularibus antro.
nil tale expectes : emit sibi. multa videmus
quae miser et frugi non fecit Apicius. hoc tu
succinctus patria quondam, Crispine, papyro ?
hoc pretio squamae ? potuit fortasse minoris
piscator quam piscis emi ; provincia tanti
vendit agros, sed maiores Apulia vendit.
qualis tunc epulas ipsum gluttisse putamus
induperatorem, cum tot sestertia, partem
exiguam et modicae sumptam de margine cenae,
purpureus magni ructarit scurra Palati,
iam princeps equitum, magna qui voce solebat
vendere municipes fracta de merce siluros ?
incipe, Calliope ; licet et considere. non est
cantandum, res vera agitur : narrate, puellae
Pierides. prosit mihi vos dixisse puellas.
cum iam semianimum laceraret Flavius orbem
ultimus et calvo serviret Roma Neroni,
incidit Adriaci spatium admirabile rhombi
ante domum Veneris, quam Dorica sustinet Ancon,
implevitque sinus ; nec enim minor haeserat illis
quos operit glacies Maeotica ruptaque tandem
solibus effundit torrentis ad ostia Ponti
desidia tardos et longo frigore pingues.
destinat hoc monstrum cumbae linique magister
pontifici summo. quis enim proponere talem
aut emere auderet, cum plena et litora multo
delatore forent ? dispersi protinus algae
inquisitores agerent cum remige nudo

non dubitaturi fugitivum dicere piscem
depastumque diu vivaria Caesaris, inde
elapsum veterem ad dominum debere reverti.
si quid Palfurio, si credimus Armillato,
quidquid conspicuum pulchrumque est aequore toto,
res fisci est, ubicumque natat. donabitur ergo,
ne pereat. iam letifero cedente pruinis
autumno, iam quartanam sperantibus aegris
stridebat deformis hiems praedamque recentem
servabat. tamen hic properat, velut urgueat auster.
utque lacus suberant, ubi quamquam diruta servat
ignem Troianum et Vestam colit Alba minorem,
obstitit intranti miratrix turba parumper.
ut cessit, facili patuerunt cardine valvae ;
exclusi spectant admissa obsonia patres.
itur ad Atriden. tum Picens ' accipe ' dixit
' privatis maiora focis. genialis agatur
iste dies, propera stomachum laxare sagina
et tua servatum consume in saecula rhombum.
ipse capi voluit.' quid apertius ? et tamen illi
surgebant cristae ; nihil est quod credere de se
non possit cum laudatur dis aequa potestas.
sed derat pisci patinae mensura. vocantur
ergo in consilium proceres, quos oderat ille,
in quorum facie miserae magnaeque sedebat
pallor amicitiae. primus clamante Liburno
' currite, iam sedit ' rapta properabat abolla
Pegasus, attonitae positus modo vilicus urbi.
anne aliud tum praefecti ? quorum optimus atque
interpres legum sanctissimus omnia quamquam
temporibus diris tractanda putabat inermi
iustitia. venit et Crispi iucunda senectus,
cuius erant mores qualis facundia, mite
ingenium. maria ac terras populosque regenti
quis comes utilior, si clade et peste sub illa

saevitiam damnare et honestum adferre liceret
consilium ? sed quid violentius aure tyranni,
cum quo de pluviis aut aestibus aut nimboso
vere locuturi fatum pendebat amici ?
ille igitur numquam derexit bracchia contra
torrentem, nec civis erat qui libera posset
verba animi proferre et vitam inpendere vero.
sic multas hiemes atque octogensima vidit
solstitia, his armis illa quoque tutus in aula.
proximus eiusdem properabat Acilius aevi
cum iuvene indigno quem mors tam saeva maneret
et domini gladiis tam festinata ; sed olim
prodigio par est in nobilitate senectus,
unde fit ut malim fraterculus esse gigantis.
profuit ergo nihil misero, quod comminus ursos
figebat Numidas Albana nudus harena
venator. quis enim iam non intellegat artes
patricias ? quis priscum illud miratur acumen,
Brute, tuum ? facile est barbato inponere regi.
nec melior vultu quamvis ignobilis ibat
Rubrius, offensae veteris reus atque tacendae,
et tamen inprobior saturam scribente cinaedo.
Montani quoque venter adest abdomine tardus,
et matutino sudans Crispinus amomo
quantum vix redolent duo funera, saevior illo
Pompeius tenui iugulos aperire susurro,
et qui vulturibus servabat viscera Dacis
Fuscus marmorea meditatus proelia villa,
et cum mortifero prudens Veiento Catullo,
qui numquam visae flagrabat amore puellae,
grande et conspicuum nostro quoque tempore monstrum,
caecus adulator dirusque a ponte satelles,
dignus Aricinos qui mendicaret ad axes
blandaque devexae iactaret basia raedae.
nemo magis rhombum stupuit ; nam plurima dixit

in laevum conversus, at illi dextra iacebat
belua. sic pugnas Cilicis laudabat et ictus
et pegma et pueros inde ad velaria raptos.
non cedit Veiento, sed ut fanaticus oestro
percussus, Bellona, tuo divinat et 'ingens
omen habes' inquit 'magni clarique triumphi.
regem aliquem capies, aut de temone Britanno
excidet Arviragus. peregrina est belua, cernis
erectas in terga sudes?' hoc defuit unum
Fabricio, patriam ut rhombi memoraret et annos.
'quidnam igitur censes? conciditur?' 'absit ab illo
dedecus hoc' Montanus ait; 'testa alta paretur,
quae tenui muro spatiosum colligat orbem.
debetur magnus patinae subitusque Prometheus.
argillam atque rotam citius properate, sed ex hoc
tempore iam, Caesar, figuli tua castra sequantur.'
vicit digna viro sententia. noverat ille
luxuriam inperii veterem noctesque Neronis
iam medias aliamque famem, cum pulmo Falerno
arderet. nulli maior fuit usus edendi
tempestate mea; Circeis nata forent an
Lucrinum ad saxum Rutupinove edita fundo
ostrea callebat primo deprendere morsu,
et semel aspecti litus dicebat echini.
surgitur et misso proceres exire iubentur
consilio, quos Albanam dux magnus in arcem
traxerat attonitos et festinare coactos
tamquam de Chattis aliquid torvisque Sycambris
dicturus, tamquam ex diversis partibus orbis
anxia praecipiti venisset epistula pinna.
atque utinam his potius nugis tota illa dedisset
tempora saevitiae, claras quibus abstulit urbi
inlustresque animas impune et vindice nullo.
sed periit postquam cerdonibus esse timendus
coeperat. hoc nocuit Lamiarum caede madenti.

SATVRA V

Si te propositi nondum pudet atque eadem est mens,
ut bona summa putes aliena vivere quadra,
si potes illa pati quae nec Sarmentus iniquas
Caesaris ad mensas nec vilis Gabba tulisset,
quamvis iurato metuam tibi credere testi.
ventre nihil novi frugalius. hoc tamen ipsum
defecisse puta, quod inani sufficit alvo :
nulla crepido vacat ? nusquam pons et tegetis pars
dimidia brevior ? tantine iniuria cenae,
tam ieiuna fames, cum possit honestius illic
et tremere et sordes farris mordere canini ?
primo fige loco, quod tu discumbere iussus
mercedem solidam veterum capis officiorum.
fructus amicitiae magnae cibus, inputat hunc rex,
et quamvis rarum tamen inputat. ergo duos post
si libuit menses neglectum adhibere clientem,
tertia ne vacuo cessaret culcita lecto,
‘ una simus ’ ait. votorum summa. quid ultra
quaeris ? habet Trebius propter quod rumpere somnum
debeat et ligulas dimittere, sollicitus ne
tota salutatrix iam turba peregerit orbem,
sideribus dubiis aut illo tempore quo se
frigida circumagunt pigri serraca Bootae.
qualis cena tamen. vinum quod sucida nolit
lana pati : de conviva Corybanta videbis.
iurgia proludunt, sed mox et pocula torques
saucius et rubra deterges vulnera mappa,
inter vos quotiens libertorumque cohortem
pugna Saguntina fervet commissa lagona.
ipse capillato diffusum consule potat
calcatamque tenet bellis socialibus uvam
cardiaco numquam cyathum missurus amico ;
cras bibet Albanis aliquid de montibus aut de

Setinis, cuius patriam titulumque senectus
delevit multa veteris fuligine testae,
quale coronati Thrasea Helvidiusque bibebant
Brutorum et Cassi natalibus. ipse capaces
Heliadum crustas et inaequales berullo
Virro tenet phialas : tibi non committitur aurum,
vel si quando datur, custos adfixus ibidem,
qui numeret gemmas, ungues observet acutos.
da veniam, praeclara illi laudatur iaspis ;
nam Virro, ut multi, gemmas ad pocula transfert
a digitis, quas in vaginae fronte solebat
ponere zelotypo iuvenis praelatus Iarbae.
tu Beneventani sutoris nomen habentem
siccabis calicem nasorum quattuor ac iam
quassatum et rupto poscentem sulpura vitro.
si stomachus domini fervet vinoque ciboque,
frigidior Geticis petitur decocta pruinis :
non eadem vobis poni modo vina querebar ?
vos aliam potatis aquam. tibi pocula cursor
Gaetulus dabit aut nigri manus ossea Mauri
et cui per mediam nolis occurrere noctem,
clivosae veheris dum per monumenta Latinae :
flos Asiae ante ipsum, pretio maiore paratus
quam fuit et Tulli census pugnacis et Anci
et, ne te teneam, Romanorum omnia regum
frivola. quod cum ita sit, tu Gaetulum Ganymedem
respice, cum sities. nescit tot milibus emptus
pauperibus miscere puer ; sed forma, sed aetas
digna supercilio. quando ad te pervenit ille ?
quando rogatus adest calidae gelidaeque minister ?
quippe indignatur veteri parere clienti
quodque aliquid poscas et quod se stante recumbas.
maxima quaeque domus servis est plena superbis.
ecce alius quanto porrexit murmure panem
vix fractum, solidae iam mucida frusta farinae,

quae genuinum agitent, non admittentia morsum.
sed tener et niveus mollique siligine fictus
servatur domino. dextram cohibere memento,
salva sit artoptae reverentia. finge tamen te
inprobulum, superest illic qui ponere cogat:
'vis tu consuetis, audax conviva, canistris
impleri panisque tui novisse colorem?'
'scilicet hoc fuerat, propter quod saepe relicta
coniuge per montem adversum gelidasque cucurri
Esquilias, fremeret saeva cum grandine vernus
Iuppiter et multo stillaret paenula nimbo.'
aspice quam longo distinguat pectore lancem
quae fertur domino squilla, et quibus undique saepta
asparagis qua despiciat convivia cauda,
dum venit excelsi manibus sublata ministri.
sed tibi dimidio constrictus cammarus ovo
ponitur exigua feralis cena patella.
ipse Venafrano piscem perfundit: at hic qui
pallidus adfertur misero tibi, caulis olebit
lanternam; illud enim vestris datur alveolis quod
canna Micipsarum prora subvexit acuta,
propter quod Romae cum Boccare nemo lavatur,
quod tutos etiam facit a serpentibus atris.
mullus erit domini, quem misit Corsica vel quem
Tauromenitanae rupes, quando omne peractum est
et iam defecit nostrum mare, dum gula saevit,
retibus adsiduis penitus scrutante macello
proxima, nec patimur Tyrrhenum crescere piscem.
instruit ergo focum provincia, sumitur illinc
quod captator emat Laenas, Aurelia vendat.
Virroni muraena datur, quae maxima venit
gurgite de Siculo; nam dum se continet auster,
dum sedet et siccat madidas in carcere pinnas,
contemnunt mediam temeraria lina Charybdim:
vos anguilla manet longae cognata colubrae,

aut glacie aspersus maculis Tiberinus, et ipse
vernula riparum, pinguis torrente cloaca
et solitus mediae cryptam penetrare Suburae.
ipsi pauca velim, facilem si praebeat aurem.
'nemo petit, modicis quae mittebantur amicis
a Seneca, quae Piso bonus, quae Cotta solebat
largiri; namque et titulis et fascibus olim
maior habebatur donandi gloria. solum
poscimus ut cenes civiliter. hoc face et esto,
esto, ut nunc multi, dives tibi, pauper amicis.'
anseris ante ipsum magni iecur, anseribus par
altilis, et flavi dignus ferro Meleagri
spumat aper. post hunc tradentur tubera, si ver
tunc erit et facient optata tonitrua cenas
maiores. 'tibi habe frumentum' Alledius inquit
'o Libye, disiunge boves, dum tubera mittas.'
structorem interea, nequa indignatio desit,
saltantem spectes et chironomunta volanti
cultello, donec peragat dictata magistri
omnia; nec minimo sane discrimine refert,
quo gestu lepores et quo gallina secetur.
duceris planta velut ictus ab Hercule Cacus
et ponere foris, si quid temptaveris umquam
hiscere, tamquam habeas tria nomina. quando propinat
Virro tibi sumitve tuis contacta labellis
pocula? quis vestrum temerarius usque adeo, quis
perditus, ut dicat regi 'bibe'? plurima sunt quae
non audent homines pertusa dicere laena.
quadringenta tibi si quis deus aut similis dis
et melior fatis donaret homuncio, quantus,
ex nihilo quantus fieres Virronis amicus.
'da Trebio, pone ad Trebium. vis, frater, ab ipsis
ilibus?' o nummi, vobis hunc praestat honorem,
vos estis fratres. dominus tamen et domini rex
si vis tu fieri, nullus tibi parvolus aula

luserit Aeneas nec filia dulcior illo ;
iucundum et carum sterilis facit uxor amicum.
sed tua nunc Mycale pariat licet et pueros tres
in gremium patris fundat semel, ipse loquaci
gaudebit nido, viridem thoraca iubebit
adferri minimasque nuces assemque rogatum,
ad mensam quotiens parasitus venerit infans.
vilibus ancipites fungi ponentur amicis,
boletus domino, sed quales Claudius edit
ante illum uxoris, post quem nihil amplius edit.
Virro sibi et reliquis Virronibus illa iubebit
poma dari, quorum solo pascaris odore,
qualia perpetuus Phaeacum autumnus habebat,
credere quae possis subrepta sororibus Afris :
tu scabie frueris mali, quod in aggere rodit
qui tegitur parma et galea metuensque flagelli
discit ab hirsuta iaculum torquere capella.
forsitan inpensae Virronem parcere credas.
hoc agit ut doleas ; nam quae comoedia, mimus
quis melior plorante gula ? ergo omnia fiunt,
si nescis, ut per lacrimas effundere bilem
cogaris pressoque diu stridere molari.
tu tibi liber homo et regis conviva videris :
captum te nidore suae putat ille culinae,
nec male coniectat ; quis enim tam nudus, ut illum
bis ferat, Etruscum puero si contigit aurum
vel nodus tantum et signum de paupere loro ?
spes bene cenandi vos decipit. 'ecce dabit iam
semesum leporem atque aliquid de clunibus apri,
ad nos iam veniet minor altilis.' inde parato
intactoque omnes et stricto pane tacetis.
ille sapit qui te sic utitur. omnia ferre
si potes, et debes. pulsandum vertice raso
praebebis quandoque caput nec dura timebis
flagra pati, his epulis et tali dignus amico.

LIBER SECVNDVS

SATVRA VI

Credo Pudicitiam Saturno rege moratam
in terris visamque diu, cum frigida parvas
praeberet spelunca domos ignemque Laremque
et pecus et dominos communi clauderet umbra,
silvestrem montana torum cum sterneret uxor
frondibus et culmo vicinarumque ferarum
pellibus, haut similis tibi, Cynthia, nec tibi, cuius
turbavit nitidos extinctus passer ocellos,
sed potanda ferens infantibus ubera magnis
et saepe horridior glandem ructante marito.
quippe aliter tunc orbe novo caeloque recenti
vivebant homines, qui rupto robore nati
compositive luto nullos habuere parentes.
multa Pudicitiae veteris vestigia forsan
aut aliqua exstiterint et sub Iove, sed Iove nondum
barbato, nondum Graecis iurare paratis
per caput alterius, cum furem nemo timeret
caulibus et pomis, et aperto viveret horto.
paulatim deinde ad superos Astraea recessit
hac comite, atque duae pariter fugere sorores.
anticum et vetus est alienum, Postume, lectum
concutere atque sacri genium contemnere fulcri.
omne aliud crimen mox ferrea protulit aetas :
viderunt primos argentea saecula moechos.
conventum tamen et pactum et sponsalia nostra
tempestate paras, iamque a tonsore magistro
pecteris, et digito pignus fortasse dedisti.

certe sanus eras. uxorem, Postume, ducis ?
dic, qua Tisiphone, quibus exagitare colubris ?
ferre potes dominam salvis tot restibus ullam,
cum pateant altae caligantesque fenestrae,
cum tibi vicinum se praebeat Aemilius pons ?
aut si de multis nullus placet exitus, illud
nonne putas melius, quod tecum pusio dormit ?
pusio qui noctu non litigat, exigit a te
nulla iacens illic munuscula, nec queritur quod
et lateri parcas nec quantum iussit anheles.
sed placet Vrsidio lex Iulia, tollere dulcem
cogitat heredem, cariturus turture magno
mullorumque iubis et captatore macello.
quid fieri non posse putes, si iungitur ulla
Vrsidio ? si moechorum notissimus olim
stulta maritali iam porrigit ora capistro,
quem totiens texit perituri cista Latini ?
quid quod et antiquis uxor de moribus illi
quaeritur ? o medici, nimiam pertundite venam.
delicias hominis. Tarpeium limen adora
pronus et auratam Iunoni caede iuvencam,
si tibi contigerit capitis matrona pudici.
paucae adeo Cereris vittas contingere dignae,
quarum non timeat pater oscula. necte coronam
postibus et densos per limina tende corymbos :
unus Hiberinae vir sufficit ? ocius illud
extorquebis, ut haec oculo contenta sit uno.
magna tamen fama est cuiusdam rure paterno
viventis. vivat Gabiis, ut vixit in agro,
vivat Fidenis, et agello cedo paterno.
quis tamen adfirmat nil actum in montibus aut in
speluncis ? adeo senuerunt Iuppiter et Mars ?
porticibusne tibi monstratur femina voto
digna tuo ? cuneis an habent spectacula totis
quod securus ames quodque inde excerpere possis ?

chironomon Ledam molli saltante Bathyllo
Tuccia vesicae non imperat, Apula gannit
sicut in amplexu subito et miserabile longum,
attendit Thymele; Thymele tunc rustica discit.
ast aliae, quotiens aulaea recondita cessant
et vacuo clusoque sonant fora sola theatro—
atque a plebeis longe Megalesia—tristes
personam thyrsumque tenent et subligar Acci.
Vrbicus exodio risum movet Atellanae
gestibus Autonoes, hunc diligit Aelia pauper.
solvitur his magno comoedi fibula, sunt quae
Chrysogonum cantare vetent, Hispulla tragoedo
gaudet: an expectas ut Quintilianus ametur?
accipis uxorem de qua citharoedus Echion
aut Glaphyrus fiat pater Ambrosiusque choraules.
longa per angustos figamus pulpita vicos,
ornentur postes et grandi ianua lauro,
ut testudineo tibi, Lentule, conopeo
nobilis Euryalum aut murmillonem exprimat infans.
nupta senatori comitata est Eppia ludum
ad Pharon et Nilum famosaque moenia Lagi
prodigia et mores urbis damnante Canopo.
inmemor illa domus et coniugis atque sororis
nil patriae indulsit, plorantesque improba natos,
utque magis stupeas, ludos Paridemque reliquit.
sed quamquam in magnis opibus plumaque paterna
et segmentatis dormisset parvula cunis,
contempsit pelagus; famam contempserat olim,
cuius apud molles minima est iactura cathedras.
Tyrrhenos igitur fluctus lateque sonantem
pertulit Ionium constanti pectore, quamvis
mutandum totiens esset mare. iusta pericli
si ratio est et honesta, timent pavidoque gelantur
pectore nec tremulis possunt insistere plantis:
fortem animum praestant rebus quas turpiter audent.

si iubeat coniunx, durum est conscendere navem,
tunc sentina gravis, tunc summus vertitur aer :
quae moechum sequitur, stomacho valet. illa maritum
convomit, haec inter nautas et prandet et errat
per puppem et duros gaudet tractare rudentis.
qua tamen exarsit forma, qua capta iuventa
Eppia ? quid vidit propter quod ludia dici
sustinuit ? nam Sergiolus iam radere guttur
coeperat et secto requiem sperare lacerto ;
praeterea multa in facie deformia, sicut
attritus galea mediisque in naribus ingens
gibbus et acre malum semper stillantis ocelli.
sed gladiator erat : facit hoc illos Hyacinthos,
hoc pueris patriaeque, hoc praetulit illa sorori
atque viro. ferrum est quod amant. hic Sergius idem
accepta rude coepisset Veiento videri.
quid privata domus, quid fecerit Eppia, curas ?
respice rivales divorum, Claudius audi
quae tulerit. dormire virum cum senserat uxor,
ausa Palatino tegetem praeferre cubili,
sumere nocturnos meretrix Augusta cucullos
linquebat comite ancilla non amplius una
et nigrum flavo crinem abscondente galero.
intravit calidum veteri centone lupanar
et cellam vacuam atque suam, tunc nuda papillis
prostitit auratis titulum mentita Lyciscae
ostenditque tuum, generose Britannice, ventrem ;
excepit blanda intrantis atque aera poposcit.
[ac resupina iacens multorum absorbuit ictus]
mox lenone suas iam dimittente puellas
tristis abit, et quod potuit tamen ultima cellam
clausit, adhuc ardens rigidae tentigine volvae,
et lassata viris necdum satiata recessit,
obscurisque genis turpis fumoque lucernae
foeda lupanaris tulit ad pulvinar odorem.

hippomanes carmenque loquar coctumque venenum
privignoque datum ? faciunt graviora coactae
imperio sexus minimumque libidine peccant.
'optima sed quare Censennia teste marito ?'
bis quingena dedit. tanti vocat ille pudicam,
nec pharetris Veneris macer est aut lampade fervet.
inde faces ardent, veniunt a dote sagittae.
libertas emitur. coram licet innuat atque
rescribat ; vidua est, locuples quae nupsit avaro.
'cur desiderio Bibulae Sertorius ardet ?'
si verum excutias, facies, non uxor amatur.
tres rugae subeant et se cutis arida laxet,
fiant obscuri dentes oculique minores :
'collige sarcinulas' dicet libertus 'et exi.
iam gravis es nobis et saepe emungeris. exi
ocius et propera.' sicco venit altera naso.
interea calet et regnat poscitque maritum
pastores et ovem Canusinam ulmosque Falernas—
quantulum in hoc ?—pueros omnes, ergastula tota,
quodque domi non est, sed habet vicinus, ematur.
mense quidem brumae, quo iam mercator Iaso
clausus, et armatis opstat casa candida nautis,
grandia tolluntur crystallina, maxima rursus
myrrhina, deinde adamans notissimus et Berenices
in digito factus pretiosior. hunc dedit olim
barbarus incestae, dedit hunc Agrippa sorori,
observant ubi festa mero pede sabbata reges
et vetus indulget senibus clementia porcis.
'nullane de tantis gregibus tibi digna videtur ?'
sit formosa decens dives fecunda, vetustos
porticibus disponat avos, intactior omni
crinibus effusis bellum dirimente Sabina,
rara avis in terris nigroque simillima cycno :
quis feret uxorem cui constant omnia ? malo,
malo Venusinam quam te, Cornelia, mater

Gracchorum, si cum magnis virtutibus adfers
grande supercilium et numeras in dote triumphos.
tolle tuum, precor, Hannibalem victumque Syphacem
in castris et cum tota Carthagine migra.
'parce, precor, Paean, et tu, dea, pone sagittas ;
nil pueri faciunt, ipsam configite matrem'
Amphion clamat. sed Paean contrahit arcum ;
extulit ergo greges natorum ipsumque parentem,
dum sibi nobilior Latonae gente videtur
atque eadem scrofa Niobe fecundior alba.
quae tanti gravitas, quae forma, ut se tibi semper
imputet ? huius enim rari summique voluptas
nulla boni, quotiens animo corrupta superbo
plus aloes quam mellis habet. quis deditus autem
usque adeo est, ut non illam quam laudibus effert,
horreat inque diem septenis oderit horis ?
quaedam parva quidem, sed non toleranda maritis.
nam quid rancidius, quam quod se non putat ulla
formosam nisi quae de Tusca Graecula facta est,
de Sulmonensi mera Cecropis ? omnia Graece,
cum sit turpe magis nostris nescire Latine ;
hoc sermone pavent, hoc iram gaudia curas,
hoc cuncta effundunt animi secreta. quid ultra ?
concumbunt Graece. dones tamen ista puellis :
tune etiam, quam sextus et octogensimus annus
pulsat, adhuc Graece ? non est hic sermo pudicus
in vetula. quotiens lascivum intervenit illud
ζωὴ καὶ ψυχή, modo sub lodice relictis
uteris in turba. quod enim non excitet inguen
vox blanda et nequam ? digitos habet. ut tamen omnes
subsidant pinnae, dicas haec mollius Haemo
quamquam et Carpophoro, facies tua conputat annos.
si tibi legitimis pactam iunctamque tabellis
non es amaturus, ducendi nulla videtur
causa, nec est quare cenam et mustacea perdas

labente officio crudis donanda, nec illud
quod prima pro nocte datur, cum lance beata
Dacicus et scripto radiat Germanicus auro.
si tibi simplicitas uxoria, deditus uni
est animus, summitte caput cervice parata
ferre iugum. nullam invenies quae parcat amanti ;
ardeat ipsa licet, tormentis gaudet amantis
et spoliis ; igitur longe minus utilis illi
uxor, quisquis erit bonus optandusque maritus.
nil umquam invita donabis coniuge, vendes
hac opstante nihil, nihil haec si nolet emetur.
haec dabit affectus, 'ille excludatur' amicus
iam senior, cuius barbam tua ianua vidit.
testandi cum sit lenonibus atque lanistis
libertas et iuris idem contingat harenae,
non unus tibi rivalis dictabitur heres.
'pone crucem servo.' 'meruit quo crimine servus
supplicium ? quis testis adest ? quis detulit ? audi ;
nulla umquam de morte hominis cunctatio longa est.'
'o demens, ita servus homo est ? nil fecerit, esto :
hoc volo, sic iubeo, sit pro ratione voluntas.'
imperat ergo viro. sed mox haec regna relinquit
permutatque domos et flammea conterit, inde
avolat et spreti repetit vestigia lecti ;
ornatas paulo ante fores, pendentia linquit
vela domus et adhuc virides in limine ramos.
sic crescit numerus, sic fiunt octo mariti
quinque per autumnos, titulo res digna sepulcri.
desperanda tibi salva concordia socru.
illa docet spoliis nudi gaudere mariti,
illa docet missis a corruptore tabellis
nil rude nec simplex rescribere, decipit illa
custodes aut aere domat. tunc corpore sano
advocat Archigenen onerosaque pallia iactat.
abditus interea latet et secretus adulter,

inpatiensque morae silet et praeputia ducit.
scilicet expectas ut tradat mater honestos
atque alios mores quam quos habet ? utile porro
filiolam turpi vetulae producere turpem.
nulla fere causa est in qua non femina litem
moverit. accusat Manilia, si rea non est.
conponunt ipsae per se formantque libellos,
principium atque locos Celso dictare paratae.
endromidas Tyrias et femineum ceroma
quis nescit, vel quis non vidit vulnera pali ?
quem cavat adsiduis sudibus scutoque lacessit
atque omnes implet numeros dignissima prorsus
Florali matrona tuba, nisi si quid in illo
pectore plus agitat veraeque paratur harenae.
quem praestare potest mulier galeata pudorem,
quae fugit a sexu, vires amat ? haec tamen ipsa
vir nollet fieri, nam quantula nostra voluptas.
quale decus, rerum si coniugis auctio fiat,
balteus et manicae et cristae crurisque sinistri
dimidium tegimen, vel si diversa movebit
proelia, tu felix ocreas vendente puella.
hae sunt quae tenui sudant in cyclade, quarum
delicias et panniculus bombycinus urit ?
aspice quo fremitu monstratos perferat ictus
et quanto galeae curvetur pondere, quanta
poplitibus sedeat quam denso fascia libro,
et ride positis scaphium cum sumitur armis.
dicite vos neptes Lepidi caecive Metelli
Gurgitis aut Fabii, quae ludia sumpserit umquam
hos habitus, quando ad palum gemat uxor Asyli.
semper habet lites alternaque iurgia lectus
in quo nupta iacet, minimum dormitur in illo.
tunc gravis illa viro, tunc orba tigride peior,
cum simulat gemitus occulti conscia facti,
aut odit pueros, aut ficta paelice plorat,

uberibus semper lacrimis semperque paratis
in statione sua atque expectantibus illam,
quo iubeat manare modo : tu credis amorem,
tu tibi tunc, uruca, places fletumque labellis
exorbes, quae scripta et quot lecture tabellas,
si tibi zelotypae retegantur scrinia moechae.
sed iacet in servi complexibus aut equitis. dic,
dic aliquem sodes hic, Quintiliane, colorem.
haeremus. dic ipsa. 'olim convenerat' inquit
'ut faceres tu quod velles, nec non ego possem
indulgere mihi. clames licet et mare caelo
confundas, homo sum.' nihil est audacius illis
deprensis, iram atque animos a crimine sumunt.
unde haec monstra tamen vel quo de fonte, requiris ?
praestabat castas humilis fortuna Latinas
quondam, nec vitiis contingi parva sinebant
tecta, labor somnique breves et vellere Tusco
vexatae duraeque manus ac proximus urbi
Hannibal et stantes Collina turre mariti.
nunc patimur longae pacis mala, saevior armis
luxuria incubuit victumque ulciscitur orbem.
nullum crimen abest facinusque libidinis, ex quo
paupertas Romana perit. hinc fluxit ad istos
et Sybaris collis, hinc et Rhodos et Miletos
atque coronatum et petulans madidumque Tarentum.
prima peregrinos obscaena pecunia mores
intulit, et turpi fregerunt saecula luxu
divitiae molles. quid enim venus ebria curat?
inguinis et capitis quae sint discrimina, nescit
grandia quae mediis iam noctibus ostrea mordet,
cum perfusa mero spumant unguenta Falerno,
cum bibitur concha, cum iam vertigine tectum
ambulat et geminis exsurgit mensa lucernis.
i nunc et dubita, qua sorbeat aera sanna
Tullia, quid dicat notae collactea Maurae

Maura, Pudicitiae veterem cum praeterit aram.
noctibus hic ponunt lecticas, micturiunt hic
effigiemque deae longis siphonibus implent
inque vices equitant ac Luna teste moventur,
inde domos abeunt: tu calcas luce reversa
coniugis urinam magnos visurus amicos.
nota bonae secreta deae, cum tibia lumbos
incitat et cornu pariter vinoque feruntur
attonitae crinemque rotant ululantque Priapi
maenades. o quantus tunc illis mentibus ardor
concubitus, quae vox saltante libidine, quantus
ille meri veteris per crura madentia torrens.
lenonum ancillas posita Saufeia corona
provocat ac tollit pendentis praemia coxae,
ipsa Medullinae fluctum crisantis adorat;
palma inter dominas virtus natalibus aequa.
nil ibi per ludum simulabitur, omnia fient
ad verum, quibus incendi iam frigidus aevo
Laomedontiades et Nestoris hirnea possit.
tunc prurigo morae inpatiens, tum femina simplex,
ac pariter toto repetitus clamor ab antro
'iam fas est, admitte viros.' iam dormit adulter:
illa iubet sumpto iuvenem properare cucullo;
si nihil est, servis incurritur; abstuleris spem
servorum, venit et conductus aquarius; hic si
quaeritur et desunt homines, mora nulla per ipsam
quo minus imposito clunem summittat asello.
atque utinam ritus veteres et publica saltem
his intacta malis agerentur sacra, sed omnes
noverunt Mauri atque Indi quae psaltria penem
maiorem, quam sunt duo Caesaris Anticatones,
illuc, testiculi sibi conscius unde fugit mus,
intulerit, ubi velari pictura iubetur
quaecumque alterius sexus imitata figuras.
et quis tunc hominum contemptor numinis? aut quis

simpuvium ridere Numae nigrumque catinum
et Vaticano fragiles de monte patellas
ausus erat? sed nunc ad quas non Clodius aras?
audio quid veteres olim moneatis amici:
'pone seram, prohibe.' sed quis custodiet ipsos
custodes? cauta est et ab illis incipit uxor.
iamque eadem summis pariter minimisque libido,
nec melior, silicem pedibus quae conterit atrum,
quam quae longorum vehitur cervice Syrorum.
ut spectet ludos, conducit Ogulnia vestem,
conducit comites sellam cervical amicas
nutricem et flavam cui det mandata puellam.
haec tamen argenti superest quodcumque paterni,
levibus athletis et vasa novissima donat:
multis res angusta domi, sed nulla pudorem
paupertatis habet nec se metitur ad illum
quem dedit haec posuitque modum. tamen utile quid sit,
prospiciunt aliquando viri, frigusque famemque
formica tandem quidam expavere magistra:
prodiga non sentit pereuntem femina censum.
ac velut exhausta redivivus pullulet arca
nummus et e pleno tollatur semper acervo,
non usquam reputant, quanti sibi gaudia constent.

VI A. in quacumque domo vivit luditque professus
obscaenum tremula promittit et omnia dextra:
invenies omnis turpes similesque cinaedis.
his violare cibos sacraeque adsistere mensae
permittunt et vasa iubent frangenda lavari,
cum colocyntha bibit vel cum barbata chelidon.
purior ergo tuis laribus meliorque lanista,
in cuius numero longe migrare iubetur
Psyllus ab Eupholio. quid quod nec retia turpi
iunguntur tunicae, nec cella ponit eadem
munimenta umeri pulsantemque arma tridentem

qui nudus pugnare solet? pars ultima ludi
accipit has animas aliusque in carcere nervos.
sed tibi communem calicem facit uxor et illis,
cum quibus Albanum Surrentinumque recusat
flava ruinosi lupa degustare sepulchri.
horum consiliis nubunt subitaeque recedunt,
his languentem animum servant et seria vitae,
his clunem atque latus discunt vibrare magistris,
quicquid praeterea scit qui docet. haud tamen illi
semper habenda fides. oculos fuligine pascit,
distinctus croceis et reticulatus adulter.
suspectus tibi sit, quanto vox mollior et quo
saepius in teneris haerebit dextera lumbis.
hic erit in lecto fortissimus; exuit illic
personam docili Thais saltata Triphallo.
quem rides? aliis hunc mimum! sponsio fiat:
purum te contendo virum, contendo. fateris?
an vocat ancillas tortoris pergula? novi
consilia et veteres quaecumque monetis amici:
'pone seram, cohibes.' sed quis custodiat ipsos
custodes, qui nunc lascivae furta puellae
hac mercede silent? crimen commune tacetur.
prospicit hoc prudens et ab illis incipit uxor.

sunt quas eunuchi inbelles ac mollia semper 366
oscula delectent et desperatio barbae
et quod abortivo non est opus. illa voluptas
summa tamen, quod iam calida matura iuventa
inguina traduntur medicis, iam pectine nigro; 370
ergo spectatos ac iussos crescere primum
testiculos, postquam coeperunt esse bilibres,
tonsoris damno tantum rapit Heliodorus. 373

VI B. mangonum pueros vera ac miserabilis urit
debilitas follisque pudet cicerisque relicti.

conspicuus longe cunctisque notabilis intrat
balnea nec dubie custodem vitis et horti
provocat a domina factus spado. dormiat ille
cum domina, sed tu iam durum, Postume, iamque
tondendum eunucho Bromium committere noli.
si gaudet cantu, nullius fibula durat
vocem vendentis praetoribus. organa semper
in manibus, densi radiant testudine tota
sardonyches, crispo numerantur pectine chordae.
quo tener Hedymeles operas dedit, hunc tenet, hoc se
solatur, gratoque indulget basia plectro.
quaedam de numero Lamiarum ac nominis Appi
et farre et vino Ianum Vestamque rogabat,
an Capitolinam deberet Pollio quercum
sperare et fidibus promittere. quid faceret plus
aegrotante viro, medicis quid tristibus erga
filiolum? stetit ante aram nec turpe putavit
pro cithara velare caput dictataque verba
pertulit, ut mos est, et aperta palluit agna.
dic mihi nunc quaeso, dic, antiquissime divum,
respondes his, Iane pater? magna otia caeli;
non est, quod video, non est quod agatur aput vos.
haec de comoedis te consulit, illa tragoedum
commendare volet, varicosus fiet haruspex.
sed cantet potius quam totam pervolet urbem,
audax et coetus possit quae ferre virorum
cumque paludatis ducibus praesente marito
ipsa loqui recta facie siccisque mamillis.
haec eadem novit quid toto fiat in orbe,
quid Seres, quid Thraces agant, secreta novercae
et pueri, quis amet, quis diripiatur adulter;
dicet quis viduam praegnatem fecerit et quo
mense, quibus verbis concumbat quaeque, modis quot.
instantem regi Armenio Parthoque cometem
prima videt, famam rumoresque illa recentis

excipit ad portas, quosdam facit; isse Niphatem
in populos magnoque illic cuncta arva teneri
diluvio, nutare urbes, subsidere terras
quocumque in trivio cuicumque est obvia, narrat.
nec tamen id vitium magis intolerabile quam quae
vicinos humiles rapere et concidere loris
exorata solet. nam si latratibus alti
rumpuntur somni, 'fustes huc ocius' inquit
'adferte' atque illis dominum iubet ante feriri,
deinde canem. gravis occursu, taeterrima vultu
balnea nocte subit, conchas et castra moveri
nocte iubet, magno gaudet sudare tumultu,
cum lassata gravi ceciderunt bracchia massa,
callidus et cristae digitos inpressit aliptes
ac summum dominae femur exclamare coegit.
convivae miseri interea somnoque fameque
urguentur. tandem illa venit rubicundula, totum
oenophorum sitiens, plena quod tenditur urna
admotum pedibus, de quo sextarius alter
ducitur ante cibum rabidam facturus orexim,
dum redit et loto terram ferit intestino.
marmoribus rivi properant, aurata Falernum
pelvis olet; nam sic tamquam alta in dolia longus
deciderit serpens, bibit et vomit. ergo maritus
nauseat atque oculis bilem substringit opertis.
illa tamen gravior, quae cum discumbere coepit,
laudat Vergilium, perituraе ignoscit Elissae,
committit vates et comparat, inde Maronem
atque alia parte in trutina suspendit Homerum.
cedunt grammatici, vincuntur rhetores, omnis
turba tacet, nec causidicus nec praeco loquetur,
altera nec mulier. verborum tanta cadit vis,
tot pariter pelves ac tintinnabula dicas
pulsari. iam nemo tubas, nemo aera fatiget:
una laboranti poterit succurrere Lunae.

inponit finem sapiens et rebus honestis;
nam quae docta nimis cupit et facunda videri,
crure tenus medio tunicas succingere debet,
caedere Silvano porcum, quadrante lavari.
non habeat matrona, tibi quae iuncta recumbit,
dicendi genus, aut curvum sermone rotato
torqueat enthymema, nec historias sciat omnes
sed quaedam ex libris et non intellegat. odi
hanc ego quae repetit volvitque Palaemonis artem
servata semper lege et ratione loquendi
ignotosque mihi tenet antiquaria versus
nec curanda viris opicae castigat amicae
verba: soloecismum liceat fecisse marito.
nil non permittit mulier sibi, turpe putat nil,
cum virides gemmas collo circumdedit et cum
auribus extentis magnos commisit elenchos;
intolerabilius nihil est quam femina dives.
interea foeda aspectu ridendaque multo
pane tumet facies aut pinguia Poppaeana
spirat, et hinc miseri viscantur labra mariti:
ad moechum lota veniunt cute. quando videri
vult formonsa domi? moechis foliata parantur,
his emitur, quidquid graciles huc mittitis Indi.
tandem aperit vultum et tectoria prima reponit,
incipit agnosci, atque illo lacte fovetur
propter quod secum comites educit asellas
exul Hyperboreum si dimittatur ad axem.
sed quae mutatis inducitur atque fovetur
tot medicaminibus coctaeque siliginis offas
accipit et madidae, facies dicetur an ulcus?
est pretium curae penitus cognoscere toto
quid faciant agitentque die. si nocte maritus
aversus iacuit, periit libraria, ponunt
cosmetae tunicas, tarde venisse Liburnus
dicitur et poenas alieni pendere somni

cogitur, hic frangit ferulas, rubet ille flagello,
hic scutica; sunt quae tortoribus annua praestent.
verberat atque obiter faciem linit, audit amicas
aut latum pictae vestis considerat aurum
et caedit, longi relegit transversa diurni
et caedit, donec lassis caedentibus 'exi'
intonet horrendum iam cognitione peracta.
praefectura domus Sicula non mitior aula.
nam si constituit solitoque decentius optat
ornari et properat iamque expectatur in hortis
aut aput Isiacae potius sacraria lenae,
disponit crinem laceratis ipsa capillis
nuda umero Psecas infelix nudisque mamillis.
'altior hic quare cincinnus?' taurea punit
continuo flexi crimen facinusque capilli.
quid Psecas admisit? quaenam est hic culpa puellae,
si tibi displicuit nasus tuus? altera laevum
extendit pectitque comas et volvit in orbem.
est in consilio materna admotaque lanis
emerita quae cessat acu; sententia prima
huius erit, post hanc aetate atque arte minores
censebunt, tamquam famae discrimen agatur
aut animae. tanta est quaerendi cura decoris;
tot premit ordinibus, tot adhuc conpagibus altum
aedificat caput. Andromachen a fronte videbis,
post minor est, credas aliam. cedo si breve parvi
sortita est lateris spatium, breviorque videtur
virgine Pygmaea nullis adiuta cothurnis,
et levis erecta consurgit ad oscula planta.
nulla viri cura interea nec mentio fiet
damnorum. vivit tamquam vicina mariti,
hoc solo propior quod amicos coniugis odit
et servos, gravior rationibus. ecce furentis
Bellonae matrisque deum chorus intrat et ingens
semivir, obscaeno facies reverenda minori.

mollia qui rapta secuit genitalia testa
iam pridem, cui rauca cohors, cui tympana cedunt,
plebeia et Phrygia vestitur bucca tiara.
grande sonat metuique iubet septembris et austri
adventum, nisi se centum lustraverit ovis
et xerampelinas veteres donaverit ipsi,
ut quidquid subiti et magni discriminis instat,
in tunicas eat, et totum semel expiet annum.
hibernum fracta glacie descendet in amnem,
ter matutino Tiberi mergetur et ipsis
verticibus timidum caput abluet, inde superbi
totum regis agrum nuda ac tremibunda cruentis
erepet genibus; si candida iusserit Io,
ibit ad Aegypti finem calidaque petitas
a Meroe portabit aquas, ut spargat in aede
Isidis, antiquo quae proxima surgit ovili.
credit enim ipsius dominae se voce moneri:
en animam et mentem cum qua di nocte loquantur.
ergo hic praecipuum summumque meretur honorem,
qui grege linigero circumdatus et grege calvo
plangentis populi currit derisor Anubis.
ille petit veniam, quotiens non abstinet uxor
concubitu sacris observandisque diebus
magnaque debetur violato poena cadurco
et movisse caput visa est argentea serpens;
illius lacrimae meditataque murmura praestant
ut veniam culpae non abnuat, ansere magno
scilicet et tenui popano corruptus, Osiris.
cum dedit ille locum, cophino faenoque relicto
arcanam Iudaea tremens mendicat in aurem,
interpres legum Solymarum et magna sacerdos
arboris ac summi fida internuntia caeli.
implet et illa manum, sed parcius; aere minuto
qualiacumque voles Iudaei somnia vendunt.
spondet amatorem tenerum vel divitis orbi

testamentum ingens calidae pulmone columbae
tractato Armenius vel Commagenus haruspex;
pectora pullorum rimabitur, exta catelli,
interdum et pueri; faciet quod deferat ipse.
Chaldaeis sed maior erit fiducia; quidquid
dixerit astrologus, credent a fonte relatum
Hammonis, quoniam Delphis oracula cessant
et genus humanum damnat caligo futuri.
praecipuus tamen est horum, qui saepius exul,
cuius amicitia conducendaque tabella
magnus civis obit et formidatus Othoni.
inde fides artis, sonuit si dextera ferro
laevaque, si longo castrorum in carcere mansit.
nemo mathematicus genium indemnatus habebit,
sed qui paene perit, cui vix in Cyclada mitti
contigit et parva tandem caruisse Seripho.
consulit ictericae lento de funere matris,
ante tamen de te Tanaquil tua, quando sororem
efferat et patruos, an sit victurus adulter
post ipsam; quid enim maius dare numina possunt?
hae tamen ignorant quid sidus triste minetur
Saturni, quo laeta Venus se proferat astro,
quis mensis damnis, quae dentur tempora lucro:
illius occursus etiam vitare memento,
in cuius manibus ceu pinguia sucina tritas
cernis ephemeridas, quae nullum consulit et iam
consulitur, quae castra viro patriamque petente
non ibit pariter numeris revocata Thrasylli.
ad primum lapidem vectari cum placet, hora
sumitur ex libro; si prurit frictus ocelli
angulus, inspecta genesi collyria poscit;
aegra licet iaceat, capiendo nulla videtur
aptior hora cibo nisi quam dederit Petosiris.
si mediocris erit, spatium lustrabit utrimque
metarum et sortes ducet frontemque manumque

praebebit vati crebrum poppysma roganti.
divitibus responsa dabunt Phryx augur et Indae,
conductus dabit astrorum mundique peritus
atque aliquis senior qui publica fulgura condit:
plebeium in circo positum est et in aggere fatum;
quae nudis longum ostendit cervicibus aurum,
consulit ante falas delphinorumque columnas,
an saga vendenti nubat caupone relicto.
hae tamen et partus subeunt discrimen et omnis
nutricis tolerant fortuna urguente labores,
sed iacet aurato vix ulla puerpera lecto.
tantum artes huius, tantum medicamina possunt,
quae steriles facit atque homines in ventre necandos
conducit. gaude, infelix, atque ipse bibendum
porrige quidquid erit; nam si distendere vellet
et vexare uterum pueris salientibus, esses
Aethiopis fortasse pater, mox decolor heres
impleret tabulas numquam tibi mane videndus.
transeo suppositos et gaudia votaque saepe
ad spurcos decepta lacus atque inde petitos
pontifices, salios Scaurorum nomina falso
corpore laturos. stat Fortuna inproba noctu
adridens nudis infantibus, hos fovet omni
involvitque sinu, domibus tunc porrigit altis
secretumque sibi mimum parat; hos amat, his se
ingerit utque suos semper producit alumnos.
hic magicos adfert cantus, hic Thessala vendit
philtra, quibus valeat mentem vexare mariti
et solea pulsare natis. quod desipis, inde est,
inde animi caligo et magna oblivio rerum
quas modo gessisti. tamen hoc tolerabile, si non
et furere incipias ut avunculus ille Neronis,
cui totam tremuli frontem Caesonia pulli
infudit; quae non faciet quod principis uxor?
ardebant cuncta et fracta conpage ruebant,

non aliter quam si fecisset Iuno maritum
insanum. minus ergo nocens erit Agrippinae
boletus, siquidem unius praecordia pressit
ille senis tremulumque caput descendere iussit
in caelum et longa manantia labra saliva.
haec poscit ferrum atque ignes, haec potio torquet,
haec lacerat mixtos equitum cum sanguine patres.
tanti partus equae, tanti una venefica constat.
oderunt natos de paelice; nemo repugnet,
nemo vetet, iam iam privignum occidere fas est.
vos ego, pupilli, moneo, quibus amplior est res,
custodite animas et nulli credite mensae,
livida materno fervent adipata veneno.
mordeat ante aliquis quidquid porrexerit illa
quae peperit, timidus praegustet pocula papas.
fingimus haec altum satura sumente cothurnum
scilicet, et finem egressi legemque priorum
grande Sophocleo carmen bacchamur hiatu,
montibus ignotum Rutulis caeloque Latino?
nos utinam vani. sed clamat Pontia 'feci,
confiteor, puerisque meis aconita paravi,
quae deprensa patent; facinus tamen ipsa peregi.'
tune duos una, saevissima vipera, cena?
tune duos? 'septem, si septem forte fuissent.'
credamus tragicis quidquid de Colchide torva
dicitur et Progne, nil contra conor. et illae
grandia monstra suis audebant temporibus, sed
non propter nummos. minor admiratio summis
debetur monstris, quotiens facit ira nocentes
hunc sexum; rabie iecur incendente feruntur
praecipites ut saxa iugis abrupta, quibus mons
subtrahitur clivoque latus pendente recedit.
illam ego non tulerim, quae conputat et scelus ingens
sana facit. spectant subeuntem fata mariti
Alcestim, et similis si permutatio detur,

morte viri cupiant animam servare catellae.
occurrent multae tibi Belides atque Eriphylae
mane, Clytaemestram nullus non vicus habebit.
hoc tantum refert, quod Tyndaris illa bipennem
insulsam et fatuam dextra laevaque tenebat,
at nunc res agitur tenui pulmone rubetae—
sed tamen et ferro, si praegustabit Atrides
Pontica ter victi cautus medicamina regis.

LIBER TERTIVS

SATVRA VII

Et spes et ratio studiorum in Caesare tantum.
solus enim tristes hac tempestate Camenas
respexit, cum iam celebres notique poetae
balneolum Gabiis, Romae conducere furnos
temptarent, nec foedum alii nec turpe putarent
praecones fieri, cum desertis Aganippes
vallibus esuriens migraret in atria Clio.
nam si Pieria quadrans tibi nullus in umbra
ostendatur, ames nomen victumque Machaerae
et vendas potius, commissa quod auctio vendit
stantibus, oenophorum tripedes armaria cistas
Alcithoen Pacci, Thebas et Terea Fausti.
hoc satius quam si dicas sub iudice 'vidi'
quod non vidisti, faciant equites Asiani
quamquam et Cappadoces faciant equitesque Bithyni,
altera quos nudo traducit Gallia talo.
nemo tamen studiis indignum ferre laborem
cogetur posthac, nectit quicumque canoris
eloquium vocale modis laurumque momordit.
hoc agite, o iuvenes. circumspicit et stimulat vos
materiamque sibi ducis indulgentia quaerit.
siqua aliunde putas rerum spectanda tuarum
praesidia atque ideo croceae membrana tabellae
impletur, lignorum aliquid posce ocius et quae
componis, dona Veneris, Telesine, marito,
aut clude et positos tinea pertunde libellos.
frange miser calamum vigilataque proelia dele,

qui facis in parva sublimia carmina cella,
ut dignus venias hederis et imagine macra.
spes nulla ulterior; didicit iam dives avarus
tantum admirari, tantum laudare disertos,
ut pueri Iunonis avem. sed defluit aetas
et pelagi patiens et cassidis atque ligonis.
taedia tunc subeunt animos, tunc seque suamque
Terpsichoren odit facunda et nuda senectus.
accipe nunc artes. ne quid tibi conferat iste
quem colis et Musarum et Apollinis aede relicta,
ipse facit versus, atque uni cedit Homero
propter mille annos. et si dulcedine famae
succensus recites, Maculonis commodat aedes.
haec longe ferrata domus servire iubetur,
in qua sollicitas imitatur ianua portas.
scit dare libertos extrema in parte sedentis
ordinis et magnas comitum disponere voces:
nemo dabit regum, quanti subsellia constant
et quae conducto pendent anabathra tigillo
quaeque reportandis posita est orchestra cathedris.
nos tamen hoc agimus tenuique in pulvere sulcos
ducimus et litus sterili versamus aratro.
nam si discedas, laqueo tenet ambitiosi
consuetudo mali; tenet insanabile multos
scribendi cacoethes et aegro in corde senescit.
sed vatem egregium, cui non sit publica vena,
qui nil expositum soleat deducere, nec qui
communi feriat carmen triviale moneta,
hunc, qualem nequeo monstrare et sentio tantum,
anxietate carens animus facit, omnis acerbi
inpatiens, cupidus silvarum aptusque bibendis
fontibus Aonidum. neque enim cantare sub antro
Pierio thyrsumque potest contingere maesta
paupertas atque aeris inops, quo nocte dieque
corpus eget: satur est cum dicit Horatius 'euhoe.'

quis locus ingenio, nisi cum se carmine solo
vexant et dominis Cirrhae Nysaeque feruntur
pectora vestra duas non admittentia curas?
magnae mentis opus nec de lodice paranda
attonitae, currus et equos faciesque deorum
aspicere et qualis Rutulum confundat Erinys.
nam si Vergilio puer et tolerabile desset
hospitium, caderent omnes a crinibus hydri,
surda nihil gemeret grave bucina: poscimus ut sit
non minor antiquo Rubrenus Lappa cothurno,
cuius et alveolos et laenam pignerat Atreus?
non habet infelix Numitor quod mittat amico:
Quintillae quod donet habet, nec defuit illi
unde emeret multa pascendum carne leonem
iam domitum; constat leviori belua sumptu
nimirum et capiunt plus intestina poetae.
contentus fama iaceat Lucanus in hortis
marmoreis, at Serrano tenuique Saleio
gloria quantalibet quid erit, si gloria tantum est?
curritur ad vocem iucundam et carmen amicae
Thebaidos, laetam cum fecit Statius urbem
promisitque diem; tanta dulcedine captos
adficit ille animos tantaque libidine volgi
auditur; sed cum fregit subsellia versu,
esurit, intactam Paridi nisi vendit Agaven.
ille et militiae multis largitur honorem,
semenstri digitos vatum circumligat auro.
quod non dant proceres, dabit histrio. tu Camerinos
et Baream, tu nobilium magna atria curas?
praefectos Pelopea facit, Philomela tribunos.
haut tamen invideas vati quem pulpita pascunt.
quis tibi Maecenas, quis nunc erit aut Proculeius
aut Fabius? quis Cotta iterum, quis Lentulus alter?
tunc par ingenio pretium, tunc utile multis
pallere et vinum toto nescire decembri.

vester porro labor fecundior, historiarum
scriptores? perit hic plus temporis atque olei plus.
nullo quippe modo millensima pagina surgit
omnibus et crescit multa damnosa papyro;
sic ingens rerum numerus iubet atque operum lex.
quae tamen inde seges? terrae quis fructus apertae?
quis dabit historico quantum daret acta legenti?
'sed genus ignavum, quod lecto gaudet et umbra.'
dic igitur quid causidicis civilia praestent
officia et magno comites in fasce libelli.
ipsi magna sonant, sed tum cum creditor audit
praecipue, vel si tetigit latus acrior illo
qui venit ad dubium grandi cum codice nomen.
tunc inmensa cavi spirant mendacia folles
conspuiturque sinus: veram deprendere messem
si libet, hinc centum patrimonia causidicorum,
parte alia solum russati pone Lacertae.
consedere duces, surgis tu pallidus Aiax
dicturus dubia pro libertate bubulco
iudice. rumpe miser tensum iecur, ut tibi lasso
figantur virides, scalarum gloria, palmae.
quod vocis pretium? siccus petasunculus et vas
pelamydum aut veteres, Maurorum epimenia, bulbi
aut vinum Tiberi devectum, quinque lagonae.
si quater egisti, si contigit aureus unus,
inde cadunt partes ex foedere pragmaticorum.
Aemilio dabitur quantum licet, et melius nos
egimus. huius enim stat currus aeneus, alti
quadriiuges in vestibulis, atque ipse feroci
bellatore sedens curvatum hastile minatur
eminus et statua meditatur proelia lusca.
sic Pedo conturbat, Matho deficit, exitus hic est
Tongilii, magno cum rhinocerote lavari
qui solet et vexat lutulenta balnea turba
perque forum iuvenes longo premit assere Maedos

empturus pueros argentum murrina villas;
spondet enim Tyrio stlattaria purpura filo.
et tamen est illis hoc utile. purpura vendit
causidicum, vendunt amethystina; convenit illi
et strepitu et facie maioris vivere census,
sed finem inpensae non servat prodiga Roma.
fidimus eloquio? Ciceroni nemo ducentos
nunc dederit nummos, nisi fulserit anulus ingens.
respicit haec primum qui litigat, an tibi servi
octo, decem comites, an post te sella, togati
ante pedes. ideo conducta Paulus agebat
sardonyche, atque ideo pluris quam Gallus agebat,
quam Basilus. rara in tenui facundia panno.
quando licet Basilo flentem producere matrem?
quis bene dicentem Basilum ferat? accipiat te
Gallia vel potius nutricula causidicorum
Africa, si placuit mercedem ponere linguae.
declamare doces? o ferrea pectora Vetti,
cum perimit saevos classis numerosa tyrannos.
nam quaecumque sedens modo legerat, haec eadem stans
perferet atque eadem cantabit versibus isdem;
occidit miseros crambe repetita magistros.
quis color et quod sit causae genus atque ubi summa
quaestio, quae veniant diversae forte sagittae,
nosse volunt omnes, mercedem solvere nemo.
'mercedem appellas? quid enim scio?' 'culpa docentis
scilicet arguitur, quod laevae parte mamillae
nil salit Arcadico iuveni, cuius mihi sexta
quaque die miserum dirus caput Hannibal inplet,
quidquid id est de quo deliberat, an petat urbem
a Cannis, an post nimbos et fulmina cautus
circumagat madidas a tempestate cohortes.
quantum vis stipulare et protinus accipe, quid do,
ut totiens illum pater audiat?' haec alii sex
vel plures uno conclamant ore sophistae

et veras agitant lites raptore relicto;
fusa venena silent, malus ingratusque maritus,
et quae iam veteres sanant mortaria caecos.
ergo sibi dabit ipse rudem, si nostra movebunt
consilia, et vitae diversum iter ingredietur,
ad pugnam qui rhetorica descendit ab umbra,
summula ne pereat qua vilis tessera venit
frumenti. quippe haec merces lautissima. tempta,
Chrysogonus quanti doceat vel Polio quanti
lautorum pueros: artem scindes Theodori.
balnea sescentis et pluris porticus in qua
gestetur dominus quotiens pluit—anne serenum
expectet spargatque luto iumenta recenti?
hic potius, namque hic mundae nitet ungula mulae;
parte alia longis Numidarum fulta columnis
surgat et algentem rapiat cenatio solem.
quanticumque domus, veniet qui fercula docte
conponat, veniet qui pulmentaria condit.
hos inter sumptus sestertia Quintiliano,
ut multum, duo sufficient; res nulla minoris
constabit patri quam filius. 'unde igitur tot
Quintilianus habet saltus?' exempla novorum
fatorum transi: felix et pulcer et acer,
felix et sapiens et nobilis et generosus,
adpositam nigrae lunam subtexit alutae;
felix orator quoque maximus et iaculator,
et si perfrixit, cantat bene. distat enim quae
sidera te excipiant modo primos incipientem
edere vagitus et adhuc a matre rubentem.
si Fortuna volet, fies de rhetore consul;
si volet haec eadem, fiet de consule rhetor.
Ventidius quid enim? quid Tullius? anne aliud quam
sidus et occulti miranda potentia fati?
servis regna dabunt, captivis fata triumphum.
felix ille tamen corvo quoque rarior albo.

paenituit multos vanae sterilisque cathedrae,
sicut Lysimachi probat exitus atque Secundi
Carrinatis; et hunc inopem vidistis, Athenae,
nil praeter gelidas ausae conferre cicutas.
di, maiorum umbris tenuem et sine pondere terram
spirantisque crocos et in urna perpetuum ver,
qui praeceptorem sancti voluere parentis
esse loco. metuens virgae iam grandis Achilles
cantabat patriis in montibus et cui non tunc
eliceret risum citharoedi cauda magistri,
sed Rufum atque alios caedit sua quemque iuventus,
Rufum, quem totiens Ciceronem Allobroga dixit.
quis gremio Celadi doctique Palaemonis adfert
quantum grammaticus meruit labor? et tamen ex hoc
quodcumque est, minus est autem quam rhetoris aera,
discipuli custos praemordet acoenonoetus,
et qui dispensat, frangit sibi. cede, Palaemon,
et patere inde aliquid decrescere, non aliter quam
institor hibernae tegetis niveique cadurci,
dummodo non pereat mediae quod noctis ab hora
sedisti, qua nemo faber, qua nemo sederet
qui docet obliquo lanam deducere ferro;
dummodo non pereat totidem olfecisse lucernas,
quot stabant pueri, cum totus decolor esset
Flaccus et haereret nigro fuligo Maroni.
rara tamen merces quae cognitione tribuni
non egeat. sed vos saevas inponite leges,
ut praeceptori verborum regula constet,
ut legat historias, auctores noverit omnes
tamquam ungues digitosque suos, ut forte rogatus
dum petit aut thermas aut Phoebi balnea, dicat
nutricem Anchisae, nomen patriamque novercae
Anchemoli, dicat quot Acestes vixerit annis,
quot Siculi Phrygibus vini donaverit urnas.
exigite ut mores teneros ceu pollice ducat,

ut si quis cera voltum facit; exigite ut sit
et pater ipsius coetus, ne turpia ludant,
ne faciant vicibus; non est leve tot puerorum
observare manus oculosque in fine trementis.
'haec' inquit 'curas, et cum se verterit annus,
accipe, victori populus quod postulat, aurum.'

SATVRA VIII

Stemmata quid faciunt? quid prodest, Pontice, longo
sanguine censeri, pictos ostendere vultus
maiorum et stantis in curribus Aemilianos
et Curios iam dimidios umerosque minorem
Corvinum et Galbam auriculis nasoque carentem?
quis fructus generis tabula iactare capaci
Corvinum, posthac multa contingere virga
fumosos equitum cum dictatore magistros,
si coram Lepidis male vivitur? effigies quo
tot bellatorum, si luditur alea pernox
ante Numantinos, si dormire incipis ortu
luciferi, quo signa duces et castra movebant?
cur Allobrogicis et magna gaudeat ara
natus in Herculeo Fabius lare, si cupidus, si
vanus et Euganea quantumvis mollior agna,
si tenerum attritus Catinensi pumice lumbum
squalentis traducit avos emptorque veneni
frangenda miseram funestat imagine gentem?
tota licet veteres exornent undique cerae
atria, nobilitas sola est atque unica virtus.
Paulus vel Cossus vel Drusus moribus esto,
hos ante effigies maiorum pone tuorum,
praecedant ipsas illi te consule virgas.
prima mihi debes animi bona. sanctus haberi
iustitiaeque tenax factis dictisque mereris?
agnosco procerem; salve Gaetulice, seu tu

Silanus, quocumque alio de sanguine, rarus
civis et egregius patriae contingis ovanti;
exclamare libet, populus quod clamat Osiri
invento. quis enim generosum dixerit hunc qui
indignus genere et praeclaro nomine tantum
insignis? nanum cuiusdam Atlanta vocamus,
Aethiopem Cycnum, pravam extortamque puellam
Europen; canibus pigris scabieque vetusta
levibus et siccae lambentibus ora lucernae
nomen erit pardus tigris leo, si quid adhuc est
quod fremat in terris violentius; ergo cavebis
et metues ne tu sic Creticus aut Camerinus.
his ego quem monui? tecum est mihi sermo, Rubelli
Blande. tumes alto Drusorum stemmate, tamquam
feceris ipse aliquid propter quod nobilis esses,
ut te conciperet quae sanguine fulget Iuli,
non quae ventoso conducta sub aggere texit.
'vos humiles' inquis 'volgi pars ultima nostri,
quorum nemo queat patriam monstrare parentis,
ast ego Cecropides.' vivas et originis huius
gaudia longa feras. tamen ima plebe Quiritem
facundum invenies, solet hic defendere causas
nobilis indocti; veniet de plebe togata
qui iuris nodos et legum aenigmata solvat;
hic petit Euphraten iuvenis domitique Batavi
custodes aquilas armis industrius. at tu
nil nisi Cecropides, truncoque simillimus Hermae.
nullo quippe alio vincis discrimine quam quod
illi marmoreum caput est, tua vivit imago.
dic mihi, Teucrorum proles, animalia muta
quis generosa putet nisi fortia. nempe volucrem
sic laudamus equum, facili cui plurima palma
fervet et exultat rauco victoria circo;
nobilis hic, quocumque venit de gramine, cuius
clara fuga ante alios et primus in aequore pulvis.

sed venale pecus Coryphaei posteritas et
Hirpini, si rara iugo victoria sedit;
nil ibi maiorum respectus, gratia nulla
umbrarum; dominos pretiis mutare iubentur
exiguis, trito ducunt epiraedia collo
segnipedes dignique molam versare nepotes.
ergo ut miremur te, non tua, privum aliquid da,
quod possim titulis incidere praeter honores
quos illis damus ac dedimus, quibus omnia debes.
haec satis ad iuvenem quem nobis fama superbum
tradit et inflatum plenumque Nerone propinquo;
rarus enim ferme sensus communis in illa
fortuna. sed te censeri laude tuorum,
Pontice, noluerim sic ut nihil ipse futurae
laudis agas. miserum est aliorum incumbere famae,
ne conlapsa ruant subductis tecta columnis.
stratus humi palmes viduas desiderat ulmos.
esto bonus miles, tutor bonus, arbiter idem
integer; ambiguae si quando citabere testis
incertaeque rei, Phalaris licet imperet ut sis
falsus et admoto dictet periuria tauro,
summum crede nefas animam praeferre pudori
et propter vitam vivendi perdere causas.
dignus morte perit, cenet licet ostrea centum
Gaurana et Cosmi toto mergatur aeno.
expectata diu tandem provincia cum te
rectorem accipiat, pone irae frena modumque,
pone et avaritiae, miserere inopum sociorum—
ossa vides rerum vacuis exucta medullis—
respice quid moneant leges, quid curia mandet,
praemia quanta bonos maneant, quam fulmine iusto
et Capito et Numitor ruerint damnante senatu
piratae Cilicum. sed quid damnatio confert?
praeconem, Chaerippe, tuis circumspice pannis,
cum Pansa eripiat quidquid tibi Natta reliquit,

iamque tace; furor est post omnia perdere naulum.
non idem gemitus olim neque vulnus erat par
damnorum sociis florentibus et modo victis.
plena domus tunc omnis, et ingens stabat acervus
nummorum, Spartana chlamys, conchylia Coa,
et cum Parrhasii tabulis signisque Myronis
Phidiacum vivebat ebur, nec non Polycliti
multus ubique labor, rarae sine Mentore mensae.
inde Dolabella atque hinc Antonius, inde
sacrilegus Verres referebant navibus altis
occulta spolia et plures de pace triumphos.
nunc sociis iuga pauca boum, grex parvus equarum,
et pater armenti capto eripietur agello,
ipsi deinde Lares, si quod spectabile signum,
si quis in aedicula deus unicus; haec etenim sunt
pro summis, nam sunt haec maxima. despicias tu
forsitan inbellis Rhodios unctamque Corinthon,
despicias merito; quid resinata iuventus
cruraque totius facient tibi levia gentis?
horrida vitanda est Hispania, Gallicus axis
Illyricumque latus; parce et messoribus illis
qui saturant urbem circo scaenaeque vacantem;
quanta autem inde feres tam dirae praemia culpae,
cum tenuis nuper Marius discinxerit Afros?
curandum in primis ne magna iniuria fiat
fortibus et miseris. tollas licet omne quod usquam est
auri atque argenti, scutum gladiumque relinques
et iaculum et galeam; spoliatis arma supersunt.
quod modo proposui, non est sententia: verum est,
credite me vobis folium recitare Sibyllae.
si tibi sancta cohors comitum, si nemo tribunal
vendit acersecomes, si nullum in coniuge crimen,
nec per conventus et cuncta per oppida curvis
unguibus ire parat nummos raptura Celaeno,
tu licet a Pico numeres genus, altaque si te

nomina delectant, omnem Titanida pugnam
inter maiores ipsumque Promethea ponas,
de quocumque voles proavum tibi sumito libro.
quod si praecipitem rapit ambitio atque libido,
si frangis virgas sociorum in sanguine, si te
delectant hebetes lasso lictore secures,
incipit ipsorum contra te stare parentum
nobilitas claramque facem praeferre pudendis.
omne animi vitium tanto conspectius in se
crimen habet, quanto maior qui peccat habetur.
quo mihi te solitum falsas signare tabellas
in templis quae fecit avus, statuamque parentis
ante triumphalem? quo, si nocturnus adulter
tempora Santonico velas adoperta cucullo?
praeter maiorum cineres atque ossa volucri
carpento rapitur pinguis Lateranus, et ipse,
ipse rotam adstringit sufflamine mulio consul,
nocte quidem, sed Luna videt, sed sidera testes
intendunt oculos. finitum tempus honoris
cum fuerit, clara Lateranus luce flagellum
sumet et occursum numquam trepidabit amici
iam senis ac virga prior annuet atque maniplos
solvet et infundet iumentis hordea lassis.
interea, dum lanatas robumque iuvencum
more Numae caedit, Iovis ante altaria iurat
solam Eponam et facies olida ad praesepia pictas.
sed cum pervigiles placet instaurare popinas,
obvius adsiduo Syrophoenix unctus amomo
currit, Idymaeae Syrophoenix incola portae
hospitis adfectu dominum regemque salutat,
et cum venali Cyane succincta lagona.
defensor culpae dicet mihi 'fecimus et nos
haec iuvenes.' esto, desisti nempe nec ultra
fovisti errorem. breve sit quod turpiter audes;
quaedam cum prima resecentur crimina barba.

indulge veniam pueris: Lateranus ad illos
thermarum calices inscriptaque lintea vadit
maturus bello Armeniae Syriaeque tuendis
amnibus et Rheno atque Histro. praestare Neronem
securum valet haec aetas. mitte Ostia, Caesar,
mitte, sed in magna legatum quaere popina;
invenies aliquo cum percussore iacentem,
permixtum nautis et furibus ac fugitivis,
inter carnifices et fabros sandapilarum
et resupinati cessantia tympana galli.
aequa ibi libertas, communia pocula, lectus
non alius cuiquam, nec mensa remotior ulli.
quid facias talem sortitus, Pontice, servum?
nempe in Lucanos aut Tusca ergastula mittas.
at vos, Troiugenae, vobis ignoscitis, et quae
turpia cerdoni, Volesos Brutumque decebunt.
quid si numquam adeo foedis adeoque pudendis
utimur exemplis, ut non peiora supersint?
consumptis opibus vocem, Damasippe, locasti
sipario, clamosum ageres ut Phasma Catulli.
Laureolum velox etiam bene Lentulus egit,
iudice me dignus vera cruce. nec tamen ipsi
ignoscas populo; populi frons durior huius
qui sedet et spectat triscurria patriciorum,
planipedes audit Fabios, ridere potest qui
Mamercorum alapas. quanti sua funera vendant,
quid refert? vendunt nullo cogente Nerone,
nec dubitant celsi praetoris vendere ludis.
finge tamen gladios inde atque hinc pulpita poni,
quid satius? mortem sic quisquam exhorruit, ut sit
zelotypus Thymeles, stupidi collega Corinthi?
res haut mira tamen citharoedo principe mimus
nobilis. haec ultra quid erit nisi ludus? et illic
dedecus urbis habes, nec murmillonis in armis
nec clipeo Gracchum pugnantem aut falce supina—

damnat enim tales habitus, sed damnat et odit,
nec galea faciem abscondit. movet ecce tridentem;
postquam vibrata pendentia retia dextra
nequiquam effudit, nudum ad spectacula voltum
erigit et tota fugit agnoscendus harena.
credamus, tunicae de faucibus aurea cum se
porrigat et longo iactetur spira galero.
ergo ignominiam graviorem pertulit omni
vulnere cum Graccho iussus pugnare secutor.
libera si dentur populo suffragia, quis tam
perditus ut dubitet Senecam praeferre Neroni?
cuius supplicio non debuit una parari
simia nec serpens unus nec culleus unus.
par Agamemnonidae crimen, sed causa facit rem
dissimilem. quippe ille deis auctoribus ultor
patris erat caesi media inter pocula, sed nec
Electrae iugulo se polluit aut Spartani
sanguine coniugii, nullis aconita propinquis
miscuit, in scaena numquam cantavit Orestes,
Troica non scripsit. quid enim Verginius armis
debuit ulcisci magis aut cum Vindice Galba,
quod Nero tam saeva crudaque tyrannide fecit?
haec opera atque hae sunt generosi principis artes,
gaudentis foedo peregrina ad pulpita cantu
prostitui Graiaeque apium meruisse coronae.
maiorum effigies habeant insignia vocis,
ante pedes Domiti longum tu pone Thyestae
syrma vel Antigonae personam vel Melanippae,
et de marmoreo citharam suspende colosso.
quid, Catilina, tuis natalibus atque Cethegi
inveniet quisquam sublimius? arma tamen vos
nocturna et flammas domibus templisque paratis,
ut bracatorum pueri Senonumque minores,
ausi quod liceat tunica punire molesta.
sed vigilat consul vexillaque vestra coercet;

hic novus Arpinas, ignobilis et modo Romae
municipalis eques, galeatum ponit ubique
praesidium attonitis et in omni monte laborat.
tantum igitur muros intra toga contulit illi
nominis ac tituli, quantum in Leucade, quantum
Thessaliae campis Octavius abstulit udo
caedibus adsiduis gladio, sed Roma parentem,
Roma patrem patriae Ciceronem libera dixit.
Arpinas alius Volscorum in monte solebat
poscere mercedes alieno lassus aratro,
nodosam post haec frangebat vertice vitem,
si lentus pigra muniret castra dolabra;
hic tamen et Cimbros et summa pericula rerum
excipit et solus trepidantem protegit urbem.
atque ideo, postquam ad Cimbros stragemque volabant
qui numquam attigerant maiora cadavera corvi,
nobilis ornatur lauro collega secunda.
plebeiae Deciorum animae, plebeia fuerunt
nomina; pro totis legionibus hi tamen et pro
omnibus auxiliis atque omni pube Latina
sufficiunt dis infernis Terraeque parenti;
pluris enim Decii quam quae servantur ab illis.
ancilla natus trabeam et diadema Quirini
et fasces meruit, regum ultimus ille bonorum.
prodita laxabant portarum claustra tyrannis
exulibus iuvenes ipsius consulis et quos
magnum aliquid dubia pro libertate deceret,
quod miraretur cum Coclite Mucius et quae
imperii fines Tiberinum virgo natavit:
occulta ad patres produxit crimina servus
matronis lugendus, at illos verbera iustis
adficiunt poenis et legum prima securis.
  malo pater tibi sit Thersites, dummodo tu sis
Aeacidae similis Vulcaniaque arma capessas,
quam te Thersitae similem producat Achilles.

et tamen, ut longe repetas longeque revolvas
nomen, ab infami gentem deducis asylo;
maiorum primus, quisquis fuit ille, tuorum
aut pastor fuit aut illud quod dicere nolo.

SATVRA IX

Scire velim, quare totiens mihi, Naevole, tristis
occurras fronte obducta ceu Marsya victus.
quid tibi cum vultu, qualem deprensus habebat
Ravola dum Rhodopes uda terit inguina barba?
nos colaphum incutimus lambenti crustula servo.
non erit hac facie miserabilior Crepereius
Pollio, qui triplicem usuram praestare paratus
circumit et fatuos non invenit. unde repente
tot rugae? certe modico contentus agebas
vernam equitem, conviva ioco mordente facetus
et salibus vehemens intra pomeria natis.
omnia nunc contra: vultus gravis, horrida siccae
silva comae, nullus tota nitor in cute, qualem
Bruttia praestabat calidi tibi fascia visci,
sed fruticante pilo neglecta et squalida crura.
quid macies aegri veteris, quem tempore longo
torret quarta dies olimque domestica febris?
deprendas animi tormenta latentis in aegro
corpore, deprendas et gaudia; sumit utrumque
inde habitum facies. igitur flexisse videris
propositum et vitae contrarius ire priori.
nuper enim, ut repeto, fanum Isidis et Ganymedem
Pacis et advectae secreta Palatia matris
et Cererem—nam quo non prostat femina templo?—
notior Aufidio moechus scelerare solebas,
quodque taces, ipsos etiam inclinare maritos.
'utile et hoc multis vitae genus, at mihi nullum
inde operae pretium. pingues aliquando lacernas,
munimenta togae, duri crassique coloris

et male percussas textoris pectine Galli
accipimus, tenue argentum venaeque secundae.
fata regunt homines, fatum est et partibus illis
quas sinus abscondit. nam si tibi sidera cessant,
nil faciet longi mensura incognita nervi,
quamvis te nudum spumanti Virro labello
viderit et blandae adsiduae densaeque tabellae
sollicitent, αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐφέλκεται ἄνδρα κίναιδος.
quod tamen ulterius monstrum quam mollis avarus?
" haec tribui, deinde illa dedi, mox plura tulisti "
computat et cevet. ponatur calculus, adsint
cum tabula pueri; numera sestertia quinque
omnibus in rebus, numerentur deinde labores.
an facile et pronum est agere intra viscera penem
legitimum atque illic hesternae occurrere cenae?
servus erit minus ille miser qui foderit agrum,
quam dominum; sed tu sane tenerum et puerum te
et pulchrum et dignum cyatho caeloque putabas.
vos humili adseculae, vos indulgebitis umquam
cultori, iam nec morbo donare parati?
en cui tu viridem umbellam, cui sucina mittas
grandia, natalis quotiens redit aut madidum ver
incipit et strata positus longaque cathedra
munera femineis tractat secreta kalendis.
dic, passer, cui tot montis, tot praedia servas
Apula, tot milvos intra tua pascua lassos?
te Trifolinus ager fecundis vitibus implet
suspectumque iugum Cumis et Gaurus inanis—
nam quis plura linit victuro dolia musto?—
quantum erat exhausti lumbos donare clientis
iugeribus paucis? meliusne hic rusticus infans
cum matre et casulis et conlusore catello
cymbala pulsantis legatum fiet amici?
" improbus es cum poscis " ait. sed pensio clamat
" posce," sed appellat puer unicus ut Polyphemi

lata acies per quam sollers evasit Vlixes;
alter emendus erit, namque hic non sufficit, ambo
pascendi. quid agam bruma spirante? quid, oro,
quid dicam scapulis puerorum aquilone decembri
et pedibus? "durate atque expectate cicadas?"
verum ut dissimules, ut mittas cetera, quanto
metiris pretio, quod ni tibi deditus essem
devotusque cliens, uxor tua virgo maneret?
scis certe quibus ista modis, quam saepe rogaris
et quae pollicitus. fugientem saepe puellam
amplexu rapui; tabulas quoque ruperat et iam
signabat, tota vix hoc ego nocte redemi
te plorante foris; testis mihi lectulus et tu,
ad quem pervenit lecti sonus et dominae vox.
instabile ac dirimi coeptum et iam paene solutum
coniugium in multis domibus servavit adulter.
quo te circumagas? quae prima aut ultima ponas?
nullum ergo meritum est, ingrate ac perfide, nullum,
quod tibi filiolus vel filia nascitur ex me?
tollis enim et libris actorum spargere gaudes
argumenta viri. foribus suspende coronas:
iam pater es, dedimus quod famae opponere possis.
iura parentis habes, propter me scriberis heres,
legatum omne capis nec non et dulce caducum.
commoda praeterea iungentur multa caducis,
si numerum, si tres implevero.' iusta doloris,
Naevole, causa tui; contra tamen ille quid adfert?
'neglegit atque alium bipedem sibi quaerit asellum.
haec soli commissa tibi celare memento,
et tacitus nostras intra te fige querellas.
nam res mortifera est inimicus pumice levis;
qui modo secretum commisserat, ardet et odit,
tamquam prodiderim quidquid scio. sumere ferrum,
fuste aperire caput, candelam adponere valvis
non dubitat. nec contemnas aut despicias quod

his opibus numquam cara est annona veneni.
ergo occulta teges, ut curia Martis Athenis.'
o Corydon, Corydon, secretum divitis ullum
esse putas? servi ut taceant, iumenta loquentur
et canis et postes et marmora. claude fenestras,
vela tegant rimas, iunge ostia, tollite lumen,
e medio fac eant omnes, prope nemo recumbat:
quod tamen ad cantum galli facit ille secundi,
proximus ante diem caupo sciet, audiet et quae
finxerunt pariter libarius archimagiri
carptores. quod enim dubitant componere crimen
in dominos, quotiens rumoribus ulciscuntur
baltea? nec derit qui te per compita quaerat
nolentem et miseram vinosus inebriet aurem.
illos ergo roges quidquid paulo ante petebas
a nobis, taceant illi. sed prodere malunt
arcanum quam subrepti potare Falerni,
pro populo faciens quantum Saufeia bibebat.
vivendum recte est, cum propter plurima tunc his
[idcirco ut possis linguam contemnere servi]
praecipue causis, ut linguas mancipiorum
contemnas. nec lingua mali pars pessima servi.
deterior tamen hic qui liber non erit illis,
quorum animas et farre suo custodit et aere.
'utile consilium modo, sed commune, dedisti.
nunc mihi quid suades post damnum temporis et spes
deceptas? festinat enim decurrere velox
flosculus angustae miseraeque brevissima vitae
portio; dum bibimus, dum serta unguenta puellas
poscimus, obrepit non intellecta senectus.'
ne trepida, numquam pathicus tibi derit amicus
stantibus et salvis his collibus. undique ad illos
convenient et carpentis et navibus omnes
qui digito scalpunt uno caput. altera maior
spes superest. tu tantum erucis inprime dentem.

'haec exempla para felicibus. at mea Clotho
et Lachesis gaudet, si pascitur inguine venter.
o parvi nostrique Lares, quos ture minuto
aut farre et tenui soleo exorare corona,
quando ego figam aliquid, quo sit mihi tuta senectus
a tegete et baculo? viginti milia faenus
pigneribus positis, argenti vascula puri,
sed quae Fabricius censor notet, et duo fortes
de grege Moesorum, qui me cervice locata
securum iubeant clamoso insistere circo;
sit mihi praeterea curvus caelator, et alter
qui multas facies pingit cito; sufficiunt haec.
quando ego pauper ero? votum miserabile, nec spes
his saltem; nam cum pro me Fortuna rogatur,
adfixit ceras illa de nave petitas,
quae Siculos cantus effugit remige surdo.

LIBER QVARTVS

SATVRA X

Omnibus in terris, quae sunt a Gadibus usque
Auroram et Gangen, pauci dinoscere possunt
vera bona atque illis multum diversa, remota
erroris nebula. quid enim ratione timemus
aut cupimus? quid tam dextro pede concipis, ut te
conatus non paeniteat votique peracti?
evertere domos totas optantibus ipsis
di faciles. nocitura toga, nocitura petuntur
militia; torrens dicendi copia multis
et sua mortifera est facundia, viribus ille
confisus periit admirandisque lacertis,
sed plures nimia congesta pecunia cura
strangulat et cuncta exuperans patrimonia census
quanto delphinis ballaena Britannica maior.
temporibus diris igitur iussuque Neronis
Longinum et magnos Senecae praedivitis hortos
clausit et egregias Lateranorum obsidet aedes
tota cohors: rarus venit in cenacula miles.
pauca licet portes argenti vascula puri
nocte iter ingressus, gladium contumque timebis
et motae ad lunam trepidabis harundinis umbram:
cantabit vacuus coram latrone viator.
prima fere vota et cunctis notissima templis
divitiae, crescant ut opes, ut maxima toto
nostra sit arca foro. sed nulla aconita bibuntur
fictilibus: tunc illa time, cum pocula sumes
gemmata et lato Setinum ardebit in auro.

iamne igitur laudas quod de sapientibus alter
ridebat, quotiens de limine moverat unum
protuleratque pedem, flebat contrarius auctor?
sed facilis cuivis rigidi censura cachinni:
mirandum est unde ille oculis suffecerit umor.
perpetuo risu pulmonem agitare solebat
Democritus, quamquam non essent urbibus illis
praetextae trabeae fasces lectica tribunal.
quid si vidisset praetorem curribus altis
extantem et medii sublimem pulvere circi
in tunica Iovis et pictae Sarrana ferentem
ex umeris aulaea togae magnaeque coronae
tantum orbem, quanto cervix non sufficit ulla?
quippe tenet sudans hanc publicus, et sibi consul
ne placeat, curru servus portatur eodem.
da nunc et volucrem, sceptro quae surgit eburno,
illinc cornicines, hinc praecedentia longi
agminis officia et niveos ad frena Quirites,
defossa in loculos quos sportula fecit amicos.
tunc quoque materiam risus invenit ad omnis
occursus hominum, cuius prudentia monstrat
summos posse viros et magna exempla daturos
vervecum in patria crassoque sub aere nasci.
ridebat curas nec non et gaudia vulgi,
interdum et lacrimas, cum Fortunae ipse minaci
mandaret laqueum mediumque ostenderet unguem.
ergo supervacua aut perniciosa petuntur,
propter quae fas est genua incerare deorum.
quosdam praecipitat subiecta potentia magnae
invidiae, mergit longa atque insignis honorum
pagina. descendunt statuae restemque sequuntur,
ipsas deinde rotas bigarum inpacta securis
caedit et inmeritis franguntur crura caballis,
iam strident ignes, iam follibus atque caminis
ardet adoratum populo caput et crepat ingens

Seianus, deinde ex facie toto orbe secunda
fiunt urceoli pelves sartago matellae.
pone domi laurus, duc in Capitolia magnum
cretatumque bovem: Seianus ducitur unco
spectandus, gaudent omnes. 'quae labra, quis illi
vultus erat. numquam, si quid mihi credis, amavi
hunc hominem. sed quo cecidit sub crimine? quisnam
delator quibus indicibus, quo teste probavit?'
nil horum; verbosa et grandis epistula venit
a Capreis. 'bene habet, nil plus interrogo. sed quid
turba Remi?' sequitur fortunam ut semper et odit
damnatos. idem populus, si Nortia Tusco
favisset, si oppressa foret secura senectus
principis, hac ipsa Seianum diceret hora
Augustum. iam pridem, ex quo suffragia nulli
vendimus, effudit curas; nam qui dabat olim
imperium fasces legiones omnia, nunc se
continet atque duas tantum res anxius optat,
panem et circenses. 'perituros audio multos.'
nil dubium, magna est fornacula. 'pallidulus mi
Bruttidius meus ad Martis fuit obvius aram;
quam timeo, victus ne poenas exigat Aiax
ut male defensus. curramus praecipites et
dum iacet in ripa, calcemus Caesaris hostem.
sed videant servi, ne quis neget et pavidum in ius
cervice obstricta dominum trahat.' hi sermones
tunc de Seiano, secreta haec murmura vulgi.
visne salutari sicut Seianus, habere
tantundem atque illi summas donare curules,
illum exercitibus praeponere, tutor haberi
principis augusta Caprearum in rupe sedentis
cum grege Chaldaeo? vis certe pila cohortes
egregios equites et castra domestica: quidni
haec cupias? et qui nolunt occidere quemquam,
posse volunt. sed quae praeclara et prospera tanti,

ut rebus laetis par sit mensura malorum ?
huius qui trahitur praetextam sumere mavis,
an Fidenarum Gabiorumque esse potestas
et de mensura ius dicere, vasa minora
frangere pannosus vacuis aedilis Vlubris ?
ergo quid optandum foret, ignorasse fateris
Seianum; nam qui nimios optabat honores
et nimias poscebat opes, numerosa parabat
excelsae turris tabulata, unde altior esset
casus et inpulsae praeceps inmane ruinae.
quid Crassos, quid Pompeios evertit et illum,
ad sua qui domitos deduxit flagra Quirites ?
summus nempe locus nulla non arte petitus
magnaque numinibus vota exaudita malignis.
ad generum Cereris sine caede ac vulnere pauci
descendunt reges et sicca morte tyranni.
eloquium aut famam Demosthenis aut Ciceronis
incipit optare et totis quinquatribus optat
quisquis adhuc uno parcam colit asse Minervam,
quem sequitur custos angustae vernula capsae.
eloquio sed uterque perit orator, utrumque
largus et exundans leto dedit ingenii fons.
ingenio manus est et cervix caesa, nec umquam
sanguine causidici maduerunt rostra pusilli.
'o fortunatam natam me consule Romam':
Antoni gladios potuit contemnere, si sic
omnia dixisset. ridenda poemata malo
quam te, conspicuae divina Philippica famae,
volveris a prima quae proxima. saevus et illum
exitus eripuit, quem mirabantur Athenae
torrentem et pleni moderantem frena theatri.
dis ille adversis genitus fatoque sinistro,
quem pater ardentis massae fuligine lippus
a carbone et forcipibus gladiosque paranti
incude et luteo Vulcano ad rhetora misit.

bellorum exuviae, truncis adfixa tropaeis
lorica et fracta de casside buccula pendens
et curtum temone iugum victaeque triremis
aplustre et summo tristis captivus in arcu
humanis maiora bonis creduntur. ad hoc se
Romanus Graiusque et barbarus induperator
erexit, causas discriminis atque laboris
inde habuit; tanto maior famae sitis est quam
virtutis. quis enim virtutem amplectitur ipsam,
praemia si tollas? patriam tamen obruit olim
gloria paucorum et laudis titulique cupido
haesuri saxis cinerum custodibus, ad quae
discutienda valent sterilis mala robora fici,
quandoquidem data sunt ipsis quoque fata sepulcris.
expende Hannibalem: quot libras in duce summo
invenies? hic est, quem non capit Africa Mauro
percussa oceano Niloque admota tepenti
rursus ad Aethiopum populos aliosque elephantos?
additur imperiis Hispania, Pyrenaeum
transilit. opposuit natura Alpemque nivemque:
diducit scopulos et montem rumpit aceto.
iam tenet Italiam, tamen ultra pergere tendit.
'actum' inquit 'nihil est, nisi Poeno milite portas
frangimus et media vexillum pono Subura.'
o qualis facies et quali digna tabella,
cum Gaetula ducem portaret belua luscum.
exitus ergo quis est? o gloria, vincitur idem
nempe et in exilium praeceps fugit atque ibi magnus
mirandusque cliens sedet ad praetoria regis,
donec Bithyno libeat vigilare tyranno.
finem animae quae res humanas miscuit olim,
non gladii, non saxa dabunt nec tela, sed ille
Cannarum vindex et tanti sanguinis ultor
anulus. i demens et saevas curre per Alpes,
ut pueris placeas et declamatio fias.

unus Pellaeo iuveni non sufficit orbis,
aestuat infelix angusto limite mundi
ut Gyari clausus scopulis parvaque Seripho;
cum tamen a figulis munitam intraverit urbem,
sarcophago contentus erit. mors sola fatetur
quantula sint hominum corpuscula. creditur olim
velificatus Athos et quidquid Graecia mendax
audet in historia, constratum classibus isdem
suppositumque rotis solidum mare, credimus altos
defecisse amnes epotaque flumina Medo
prandente et madidis cantat quae Sostratus alis;
ille tamen qualis rediit Salamine relicta,
in corum atque eurum solitus saevire flagellis
barbarus Aeolio numquam hoc in carcere passos,
ipsum conpedibus qui vinxerat Ennosigaeum—
mitius id sane, quod non et stigmate dignum
credidit; huic quisquam vellet servire deorum?
sed qualis rediit? nempe una nave, cruentis
fluctibus ac tarda per densa cadavera prora.
has totiens optata exegit gloria poenas.
'da spatium vitae, multos da, Iuppiter, annos'
hoc recto vultu, solum hoc et pallidus optas.
sed quam continuis et quantis longa senectus
plena malis. deformem et taetrum ante omnia vultum
dissimilemque sui, deformem pro cute pellem
pendentisque genas et talis aspice rugas
quales, umbriferos ubi pandit Thabraca saltus,
in vetula scalpit iam mater simia bucca.
plurima sunt iuvenum discrimina, pulchrior ille
hoc atque ille alio, multum hic robustior illo:
una senum facies. cum voce trementia membra
et iam leve caput madidique infantia nasi,
frangendus misero gingiva panis inermi;
usque adeo gravis uxori natisque sibique,
ut captatori moveat fastidia Cosso.

non eadem vini atque cibi torpente palato
gaudia. nam coitus iam longa oblivio, vel si
coneris, iacet exiguus cum ramice nervus
et quamvis tota palpetur nocte, iacebit.
anne aliquid sperare potest haec inguinis aegri
canities? quid quod merito suspecta libido est
quae venerem adfectat sine viribus? aspice partis
nunc damnum alterius. nam quae cantante voluptas,
sit licet eximius, citharoedo sive Seleuco
et quibus aurata mos est fulgere lacerna?
quid refert, magni sedeat qua parte theatri
qui vix cornicines exaudiet atque tubarum
concentus? clamore opus est, ut sentiat auris
quem dicat venisse puer, quot nuntiet horas.
praeterea minimus gelido iam in corpore sanguis
febre calet sola, circumsilit agmine facto
morborum omne genus, quorum si nomina quaeras,
promptius expediam quot amaverit Oppia moechos,
quot Themison aegros autumno occiderit uno,
quot Basilus socios, quot circumscripserit Hirrus
pupillos, quot longa viros exorbeat uno
Maura die, quot discipulos inclinet Hamillus,
percurram citius quot villas possideat nunc
quo tondente gravis iuveni mihi barba sonabat.
ille umero, hic lumbis, hic coxa debilis; ambos
perdidit ille oculos et luscis invidet; huius
pallida labra cibum accipiunt digitis alienis,
ipse ad conspectum cenae diducere rictum
suetus hiat tantum ceu pullus hirundinis, ad quem
ore volat pleno mater ieiuna. sed omni
membrorum damno maior dementia, quae nec
nomina servorum nec vultum agnoscit amici
cum quo praeterita cenavit nocte, nec illos
quos genuit, quos eduxit. nam codice saevo
heredes vetat esse suos, bona tota feruntur

ad Phialen; tantum artificis valet halitus oris,
quod steterat multis in carcere fornicis annis.
ut vigeant sensus animi, ducenda tamen sunt
funera natorum, rogus aspiciendus amatae
coniugis et fratris plenaeque sororibus urnae.
haec data poena diu viventibus, ut renovata
semper clade domus multis in luctibus inque
perpetuo maerore et nigra veste senescant.
rex Pylius, magno si quidquam credis Homero,
exemplum vitae fuit a cornice secundae.
felix nimirum, qui tot per saecula mortem
distulit atque suos iam dextra conputat annos,
quique novum totiens mustum bibit. oro, parumper
attendas quantum de legibus ipse queratur
fatorum et nimio de stamine, cum videt acris
Antilochi barbam ardentem, cum quaerit ab omni
quisquis adest socius, cur haec in tempora duret,
quod facinus dignum tam longo admiserit aevo.
haec eadem Peleus raptum cum luget Achillen,
atque alius cui fas Ithacum lugere natantem.
incolumi Troia Priamus venisset ad umbras
Assaraci magnis sollemnibus Hectore funus
portante ac reliquis fratrum cervicibus inter
Iliadum lacrimas, ut primos edere planctus
Cassandra inciperet scissaque Polyxena palla,
si foret extinctus diverso tempore, quo non
coeperat audaces Paris aedificare carinas.
longa dies igitur quid contulit? omnia vidit
eversa et flammis Asiam ferroque cadentem.
tunc miles tremulus posita tulit arma tiara
et ruit ante aram summi Iovis ut vetulus bos,
qui domini cultris tenue et miserabile collum
praebet ab ingrato iam fastiditus aratro.
exitus ille utcumque hominis, sed torva canino
latravit rictu quae post hunc vixerat uxor.

festino ad nostros et regem transeo Ponti
et Croesum, quem vox iusti facunda Solonis
respicere ad longae iussit spatia ultima vitae.
exilium et carcer Minturnarumque paludes
et mendicatus victa Carthagine panis
hinc causas habuere; quid illo cive tulisset
natura in terris, quid Roma beatius umquam,
si circumducto captivorum agmine et omni
bellorum pompa animam exhalasset opimam,
cum de Teutonico vellet descendere curru?
provida Pompeio dederat Campania febres
optandas, sed multae urbes et publica vota
vicerunt, igitur Fortuna ipsius et urbis
servatum victo caput abstulit. hoc cruciatu
Lentulus, hac poena caruit ceciditque Cethegus
integer, et iacuit Catilina cadavere toto.
formam optat modico pueris, maiore puellis
murmure, cum Veneris fanum videt, anxia mater
usque ad delicias votorum. 'cur tamen' inquit
'corripias? pulchra gaudet Latona Diana.'
sed vetat optari faciem Lucretia qualem
ipsa habuit, cuperet Rutilae Verginia gibbum
accipere atque suam Rutilae dare. filius autem
corporis egregii miseros trepidosque parentes
semper habet; rara est adeo concordia formae
atque pudicitiae. sanctos licet horrida mores
tradiderit domus ac veteres imitata Sabinos,
praeterea castum ingenium vultumque modesto
sanguine ferventem tribuat natura benigna
larga manu—quid enim puero conferre potest plus
custode et cura natura potentior omni?—
non licet esse viro. nam prodiga corruptoris
improbitas ipsos audet temptare parentes;
tanta in muneribus fiducia. nullus ephebum
deformem saeva castravit in arce tyrannus,

nec praetextatum rapuit Nero loripedem nec
strumosum atque utero pariter gibboque tumentem.
i nunc et iuvenis specie laetare tui, quem
maiora expectant discrimina. fiet adulter
publicus, et poenas metuit quascumque mariti
irati debet, nec erit felicior astro
Martis, ut in laqueos numquam incidat. exigit autem
interdum ille dolor plus quam lex ulla dolori
concessit; necat hic ferro, secat ille cruentis
verberibus, quosdam moechos et mugilis intrat.
sed tuus Endymion dilectae fiet adulter
matronae. mox cum dederit Servilia nummos,
fiet et illius quam non amat, exuet omnem
corporis ornatum; quid enim ulla negaverit udis
inguinibus, sive est haec Oppia sive Catulla?
deterior totos habet illic femina mores.
'sed casto quid forma nocet?' quid profuit immo
Hippolyto grave propositum, quid Bellerophonti?
erubuit nempe haec ceu fastidita repulsa,
nec Stheneboea minus quam Cressa excanduit, et se
concussere ambae. mulier saevissima tunc est,
cum stimulos odio pudor admovet. elige quidnam
suadendum esse putes cui nubere Caesaris uxor
destinat. optimus hic et formosissimus idem
gentis patriciae rapitur miser extinguendus
Messalinae oculis; dudum sedet illa parato
flammeolo Tyriusque palam genialis in hortis
sternitur et ritu decies centena dabuntur
antiquo, veniet cum signatoribus auspex.
haec tu secreta et paucis commissa putabas?
non nisi legitime vult nubere. quid placeat dic:
ni parere velis, pereundum erit ante lucernas;
si scelus admittas, dabitur mora parvula, dum res
nota urbi et populo contingat principis aurem.
dedecus ille domus sciet ultimus; interea tu

obsequere imperio, si tanti vita dierum
paucorum. quidquid levius meliusve putaris,
praebenda est gladio pulchra haec et candida cervix.
nil ergo optabunt homines? si consilium vis,
permittes ipsis expendere numinibus quid
conveniat nobis rebusque sit utile nostris.
nam pro iucundis aptissima quaeque dabunt di,
carior est illis homo quam sibi. nos animorum
inpulsu et caeca magnaque cupidine ducti
coniugium petimus partumque uxoris, at illis
notum qui pueri qualisque futura sit uxor.
ut tamen et poscas aliquid voveasque sacellis
exta et candiduli divina tomacula porci,
orandum est ut sit mens sana in corpore sano.
fortem posce animum mortis terrore carentem,
qui spatium vitae extremum inter munera ponat
naturae, qui ferre queat quoscumque labores,
nesciat irasci, cupiat nihil, et potiores
Herculis aerumnas credat saevosque labores
et venere et cenis et pluma Sardanapalli.
monstro quod ipse tibi possis dare, semita certe
tranquillae per virtutem patet unica vitae.
nullum numen habes si sit prudentia, nos te,
nos facimus, Fortuna, deam caeloque locamus.

SATVRA XI

Atticus eximie si cenat, lautus habetur:
si Rutilus, demens. quid enim maiore cachinno
excipitur vulgi quam pauper Apicius? omnis
convictus thermae stationes, omne theatrum
de Rutilo. nam dum valida ac iuvenalia membra
sufficiunt galeae dumque ardet sanguine, fertur
non cogente quidem sed nec prohibente tribuno
scripturus leges et regia verba lanistae.

multos porro vides, quos saepe elusus ad ipsum
creditor introitum solet expectare macelli,
et quibus in solo vivendi causa palato est.
egregius cenat meliusque miserrimus horum
et cito casurus iam perlucente ruina.
interea gustus elementa per omnia quaerunt
numquam animo pretiis obstantibus; interius si
adtendas, magis illa iuvant quae pluris ementur.
ergo haut difficile est perituram arcessere summam
lancibus oppositis vel matris imagine fracta,
et quadringentis nummis condire gulosum
fictile; sic veniunt ad miscillanea ludi.
refert ergo quis haec eadem paret; in Rutilo nam
luxuria est, in Ventidio laudabile nomen
sumit et a censu famam trahit. illum ego iure
despiciam, qui scit quanto sublimior Atlans
omnibus in Libya sit montibus, hic tamen idem
ignoret quantum ferrata distet ab arca
sacculus. e caelo descendit γνῶθι σεαυτὸν
figendum et memori tractandum pectore, sive
coniugium quaeras vel sacri in parte senatus
esse velis—neque enim loricam poscit Achillis
Thersites, in qua se traducebat Vlixes—
ancipitem seu tu magno discrimine causam
protegere adfectas, te consule, dic tibi qui sis,
orator vehemens an Curtius et Matho buccae.
noscenda est mensura sui spectandaque rebus
in summis minimisque, etiam cum piscis emetur,
ne mullum cupias, cum sit tibi gobio tantum
in loculis. quis enim te deficiente crumina
et crescente gula manet exitus, aere paterno
ac rebus mersis in ventrem faenoris atque
argenti gravis et pecorum agrorumque capacem?
talibus a dominis post cuncta novissimus exit
anulus, et digito mendicat Pollio nudo.

non praematuri cineres nec funus acerbum
luxuriae, sed morte magis metuenda senectus.
hi plerumque gradus: conducta pecunia Romae
et coram dominis consumitur; inde ubi paulum
nescio quid superest et pallet faenoris auctor,
qui vertere solum, Baias et ad ostrea currunt.
cedere namque foro iam non est deterius quam
Esquilias a ferventi migrare Subura.
ille dolor solus patriam fugientibus, illa
maestitia est, caruisse anno circensibus uno.
sanguinis in facie non haeret gutta, morantur
pauci ridiculum et fugientem ex urbe pudorem.
  experiere hodie numquid pulcherrima dictu,
Persice, non praestem vitae tibi moribus et re,
si laudem siliquas occultus ganeo, pultes
coram aliis dictem puero sed in aure placentas.
nam cum sis conviva mihi promissus, habebis
Euandrum, venies Tirynthius aut minor illo
hospes, et ipse tamen contingens sanguine caelum,
alter aquis, alter flammis ad sidera missus.
fercula nunc audi nullis ornata macellis.
de Tiburtino veniet pinguissimus agro
haedulus et toto grege mollior, inscius herbae
necdum ausus virgas humilis mordere salicti,
qui plus lactis habet quam sanguinis, et montani
asparagi, posito quos legit vilica fuso.
grandia praeterea tortoque calentia faeno
ova adsunt ipsis cum matribus, et servatae
parte anni quales fuerant in vitibus uvae,
Signinum Syriumque pirum, de corbibus isdem
aemula Picenis et odoris mala recentis
nec metuenda tibi, siccatum frigore postquam
autumnum et crudi posuere pericula suci.
haec olim nostri iam luxuriosa senatus
cena fuit. Curius parvo quae legerat horto

ipse focis brevibus ponebat holuscula, quae nunc
squalidus in magna fastidit compede fossor,
qui meminit calidae sapiat quid vulva popinae.
sicci terga suis rara pendentia crate
moris erat quondam festis servare diebus,
et natalicium cognatis ponere lardum
accedente nova, si quam dabat hostia, carne.
cognatorum aliquis titulo ter consulis atque
castrorum imperiis et dictatoris honore
functus ad has epulas solito maturius ibat
erectum domito referens a monte ligonem.
cum tremerent autem Fabios durumque Catonem
et Scauros et Fabricium, postremo severos
censoris mores etiam collega timeret,
nemo inter curas et seria duxit habendam
qualis in Oceano fluctu testudo nataret,
clarum Troiugenis factura et nobile fulcrum,
sed nudo latere et parvis frons aerea lectis
vile coronati caput ostendebat aselli,
ad quod lascivi ludebant ruris alumni.
tales ergo cibi, qualis domus atque supellex.
tunc rudis et Graias mirari nescius artes
urbibus eversis praedarum in parte reperta
magnorum artificum frangebat pocula miles,
ut phaleris gauderet ecus caelataque cassis
Romuleae simulacra ferae mansuescere iussae
imperii fato, geminos sub rupe Quirinos,
ac nudam effigiem clipeo venientis et hasta
pendentisque dei perituro ostenderet hosti.
ponebant igitur Tusco farrata catino:
argenti quod erat, solis fulgebat in armis.
omnia tunc, quibus invideas si lividulus sis.
templorum quoque maiestas praesentior, et vox
nocte fere media mediamque audita per urbem
litore ab Oceani Gallis venientibus et dis

officium vatis peragentibus. his monuit nos,
hanc rebus Latiis curam praestare solebat
fictilis et nullo violatus Iuppiter auro.
illa domi natas nostraque ex arbore mensas
tempora viderunt; hoc lignum stabat ad usus,
annosam si forte nucem deiecerat eurus.
at nunc divitibus cenandi nulla voluptas,
nil rhombus, nil damma sapit, putere videntur
unguenta atque rosae, latos nisi sustinet orbes
grande ebur et magno sublimis pardus hiatu
dentibus ex illis quos mittit porta Syenes
et Mauri celeres et Mauro obscurior Indus,
et quos deposuit Nabataeo belua saltu
iam nimios capitique graves. hinc surgit orexis,
hinc stomacho vires; nam pes argenteus illis,
anulus in digito quod ferreus. ergo superbum
convivam caveo, qui me sibi comparat et res
despicit exiguas. adeo nulla uncia nobis
est eboris, nec tessellae nec calculus ex hac
materia, quin ipsa manubria cultellorum
ossea. non tamen his ulla umquam obsonia fiunt
rancidula aut ideo peior gallina secatur.
sed nec structor erit cui cedere debeat omnis
pergula, discipulus Trypheri doctoris, aput quem
sumine cum magno lepus atque aper et pygargus
et Scythicae volucres et phoenicopterus ingens
et Gaetulus oryx hebeti lautissima ferro
caeditur et tota sonat ulmea cena Subura.
nec frustum capreae subducere nec latus Afrae
novit avis noster, tirunculus ac rudis omni
tempore et exiguae furtis inbutus ofellae.
plebeios calices et paucis assibus emptos
porriget incultus puer atque a frigore tutus.
non Phryx aut Lycius, non a mangone petitus
quisquam erit, et magno: cum posces, posce Latine.

idem habitus cunctis, tonsi rectique capilli
atque hodie tantum propter convivia pexi.
pastoris duri hic est filius, ille bubulci.
suspirat longo non visam tempore matrem,
et casulam et notos tristis desiderat haedos,
ingenui vultus puer ingenuique pudoris,
quales esse decet quos ardens purpura vestit,
nec pupillares defert in balnea raucus
testiculos, nec vellendas iam praebuit alas,
crassa nec opposito pavidus tegit inguina guto.
hic tibi vina dabit diffusa in montibus illis
a quibus ipse venit, quorum sub vertice lusit;
namque una atque eadem est vini patria atque ministri.
forsitan expectes ut Gaditana canoro
incipiant prurire choro, plausuque probatae
ad terram tremulo descendant clune puellae.
spectant hoc nuptae iuxta recubante marito,
quod pudeat narrare aliquem praesentibus ipsis,
inritamentum veneris languentis et acres
divitis urticae, maior tamen ista voluptas
alterius sexus; magis ille extenditur, et mox
auribus atque oculis concepta urina movetur.
non capit has nugas humilis domus. audiat ille
testarum crepitus cum verbis, nudum olido stans
fornice mancipium quibus abstinet, ille fruatur
vocibus obscaenis omnique libidinis arte,
qui Lacedaemonium pytismate lubricat orbem;
namque ibi fortunae veniam damus. alea turpis
turpe et adulterium mediocribus: haec eadem illi
omnia cum faciant, hilares nitidique vocantur.
nostra dabunt alios hodie convivia ludos,
conditor Iliados cantabitur atque Maronis
altisoni dubiam facientia carmina palmam.
quid refert, tales versus qua voce legantur?
sed nunc dilatis averte negotia curis

et gratam requiem dona tibi: quando licebat
per totum cessare diem? non faenoris ulla
mentio nec prima si luce egressa reverti
nocte solet, tacito bilem tibi contrahat uxor
umida suspectis referens multicia rugis
vexatasque comas et vultum auremque calentem.
protinus ante meum quidquid dolet exue limen,
pone domum et servos et quidquid frangitur illis
aut perit, ingratos ante omnia pone sodales.
interea Megalesiacae spectacula mappae
Idaeum sollemne colunt, similisque triumpho
praeda caballorum praetor sedet, ac mihi pace
inmensae nimiaeque licet si dicere plebis,
totam hodie Romam circus capit, et fragor aurem
percutit, eventum viridis quo colligo panni.
nam si deficeret, maestam attonitamque videres
hanc urbem veluti Cannarum in pulvere victis
consulibus. spectent iuvenes, quos clamor et audax
sponsio, quos cultae decet adsedisse puellae:
nostra bibat vernum contracta cuticula solem
effugiatque togam. iam nunc in balnea salva
fronte licet vadas, quamquam solida hora supersit
ad sextam. facere hoc non possis quinque diebus
continuis, quia sunt talis quoque taedia vitae
magna; voluptates commendat rarior usus.

SATVRA XII

Natali, Corvine, die mihi dulcior haec lux,
qua festus promissa deis animalia caespes
expectat. niveam reginae ducimus agnam,
par vellus dabitur pugnanti Gorgone Maura,
sed procul extensum petulans quatit hostia funem
Tarpeio servata Iovi frontemque coruscat,
quippe ferox vitulus templis maturus et arae

spargendusque mero, quem iam pudet ubera matris
ducere, qui vexat nascenti robora cornu.
si res ampla domi similisque adfectibus esset,
pinguior Hispulla traheretur taurus et ipsa
mole piger, nec finitima nutritus in herba,
laeta sed ostendens Clitumni pascua sanguis
iret et a grandi cervix ferienda ministro
ob reditum trepidantis adhuc horrendaque passi
nuper et incolumem sese mirantis amici.
nam praeter pelagi casus et fulminis ictus
evasit. densae caelum abscondere tenebrae
nube una subitusque antemnas inpulit ignis,
cum se quisque illo percussum crederet et mox
attonitus nullum conferri posse putaret
naufragium velis ardentibus. omnia fiunt
talia tam graviter, si quando poetica surgit
tempestas. genus ecce aliud discriminis audi
et miserere iterum, quamquam sint cetera sortis
eiusdem pars, dira quidem sed cognita multis
et quam votiva testantur fana tabella
plurima; pictores quis nescit ab Iside pasci?
accidit et nostro similis fortuna Catullo.
cum plenus fluctu medius foret alveus et iam
alternum puppis latus evertentibus undis
arboris incertae, nullam prudentia cani
rectoris cum ferret opem, decidere iactu
coepit cum ventis, imitatus castora qui se
eunuchum ipse facit cupiens evadere damno
testiculi; adeo medicatum intellegit inguen.
'fundite quae mea sunt' dicebat 'cuncta' Catullus
praecipitare volens etiam pulcherrima, vestem
purpuream teneris quoque Maecenatibus aptam,
atque alias quarum generosi graminis ipsum
infecit natura pecus, sed et egregius fons
viribus occultis et Baeticus adiuvat aer.

ille nec argentum dubitabat mittere, lances
Parthenio factas, urnae cratera capacem
et dignum sitiente Pholo vel coniuge Fusci;
adde et bascaudas et mille escaria, multum
caelati, biberat quo callidus emptor Olynthi.
sed quis nunc alius, qua mundi parte quis audet
argento praeferre caput rebusque salutem?
non propter vitam faciunt patrimonia quidam,
sed vitio caeci propter patrimonia vivunt.
iactatur rerum utilium pars maxima, sed nec
damna levant. tunc adversis urguentibus illuc
reccidit ut malum ferro summitteret, ac se
explicat angustum: discriminis ultima, quando
praesidia adferimus navem factura minorem.
i nunc et ventis animam committe dolato
confisus ligno, digitis a morte remotus
quattuor aut septem, si sit latissima, taedae;
mox cum reticulis et pane et ventre lagonae
aspice sumendas in tempestate secures.
sed postquam iacuit planum mare, tempora postquam
prospera vectoris fatumque valentius euro
et pelago, postquam Parcae meliora benigna
pensa manu ducunt hilares et staminis albi
lanificae, modica nec multum fortior aura
ventus adest, inopi miserabilis arte cucurrit
vestibus extentis et, quod superaverat unum,
velo prora suo. iam deficientibus austris
spes vitae cum sole redit. tunc gratus Iulo
atque novercali sedes praelata Lavino
conspicitur sublimis apex, cui candida nomen
scrofa dedit, laetis Phrygibus miserabile sumen,
et numquam visis triginta clara mamillis.
tandem intrat positas inclusa per aequora moles
Tyrrhenamque pharon porrectaque bracchia rursum
quae pelago occurrunt medio longeque relinquunt

Italiam; non sic igitur mirabere portus
quos natura dedit. sed trunca puppe magister
interiora petit Baianae pervia cumbae
tuti stagna sinus. gaudent ibi vertice raso
garrula securi narrare pericula nautae.
ite igitur, pueri, linguis animisque faventes
sertaque delubris et farra inponite cultris
ac mollis ornate focos glaebamque virentem.
iam sequar et sacro, quod praestat, rite peracto
inde domum repetam, graciles ubi parva coronas
accipiunt fragili simulacra nitentia cera.
hic nostrum placabo Iovem Laribusque paternis
tura dabo atque omnis violae iactabo colores.
cuncta nitent, longos erexit ianua ramos
et matutinis operatur festa lucernis.
nec suspecta tibi sint haec, Corvine. Catullus
pro cuius reditu tot pono altaria, parvos
tres habet heredes. libet expectare quis aegram
et claudentem oculos gallinam inpendat amico
tam sterili, verum haec nimia est inpensa, coturnix
nulla umquam pro patre cadet. sentire calorem
si coepit locuples Gallitta et Pacius orbi,
legitime fixis vestitur tota libellis
porticus, existunt qui promittant hecatomben,
quatenus hic non sunt nec venales elephanti,
nec Latio aut usquam sub nostro sidere talis
belua concipitur, sed furva gente petita
arboribus Rutulis et Turni pascitur agro,
Caesaris armentum nulli servire paratum
privato, siquidem Tyrio parere solebant
Hannibali et nostris ducibus regique Molosso
horum maiores ac dorso ferre cohortis,
partem aliquam belli,et euntem in proelia turrem.
nulla igitur mora per Novium, mora nulla per Histrum
Pacuvium, quin illud ebur ducatur ad aras

et cadat ante Lares Gallittae victima sola
tantis digna deis et captatoribus horum.
alter enim, si concedas, mactare vovebit
de grege servorum magna aut pulcherrima quaeque
corpora, vel pueris et frontibus ancillarum
inponet vittas, et siqua est nubilis illi
Iphigenia domi, dabit hanc altaribus, etsi
non sperat tragicae furtiva piacula cervae.
laudo meum civem, nec comparo testamento
mille rates; nam si Libitinam evaserit aeger,
delebit tabulas inclusus carcere nassae
post meritum sane mirandum atque omnia soli
forsan Pacuvio breviter dabit, ille superbus
incedet victis rivalibus. ergo vides quam
grande operae pretium faciat iugulata Mycenis.
vivat Pacuvius quaeso vel Nestora totum,
possideat quantum rapuit Nero, montibus aurum
exaequet, nec amet quemquam nec ametur ab ullo.

LIBER QVINTVS

SATVRA XIII

Exemplo quodcumque malo committitur, ipsi
displicet auctori. prima est haec ultio quod se
iudice nemo nocens absolvitur, improba quamvis
gratia fallaci praetoris vicerit urna.
quid sentire putas omnes, Calvine, recenti
de scelere et fidei violatae crimine? sed nec
tam tenuis census tibi contigit, ut mediocris
iacturae te mergat onus, nec rara videmus
quae pateris; casus multis hic cognitus ac iam
tritus et e medio fortunae ductus acervo.
ponamus nimios gemitus. flagrantior aequo
non debet dolor esse viri nec vulnere maior.
tu quamvis levium minimam exiguamque malorum
particulam vix ferre potes spumantibus ardens
visceribus, sacrum tibi quod non reddat amicus
depositum? stupet haec qui iam post terga reliquit
sexaginta annos Fonteio consule natus?
an nihil in melius tot rerum proficit usu?
magna quidem, sacris quae dat praecepta libellis,
victrix fortunae sapientia, ducimus autem
hos quoque felices, qui ferre incommoda vitae
nec iactare iugum vita didicere magistra.
quae tam festa dies, ut cesset prodere furem
perfidiam fraudes atque omni ex crimine lucrum
quaesitum et partos gladio vel pyxide nummos?
rari quippe boni: numera, vix sunt totidem quot
Thebarum portae vel divitis ostia Nili.

nunc aetas agitur peioraque saecula ferri
temporibus, quorum sceleri non invenit ipsa
nomen et a nullo posuit natura metallo.
nos hominum divumque fidem clamore ciemus,
quanto Faesidium laudat vocalis agentem
sportula? dic, senior bulla dignissime, nescis
quas habeat veneres aliena pecunia? nescis
quem tua simplicitas risum vulgo moveat, cum
exigis a quoquam ne peieret et putet ullis
esse aliquod numen templis araeque rubenti?
quondam hoc indigenae vivebant more, priusquam
sumeret agrestem posito diademate falcem
Saturnus fugiens, tunc cum virguncula Iuno
et privatus adhuc Idaeis Iuppiter antris,
nulla super nubes convivia caelicolarum
nec puer Iliacus formonsa nec Herculis uxor
ad cyathos, etiam siccato nectare tergens
bracchia Vulcanus Liparaea nigra taberna,
prandebat sibi quisque deus, nec turba deorum
talis ut est hodie, contentaque sidera paucis
numinibus miserum urguebant Atlanta minori
pondere, nondum aliquis sortitus triste profundi
imperium aut Sicula torvus cum coniuge Pluton,
nec rota nec Furiae nec saxum aut vulturis atri
poena, sed infernis hilares sine regibus umbrae.
inprobitas illo fuit admirabilis aevo,
credebant quo grande nefas et morte piandum
si iuvenis vetulo non adsurrexerat et si
barbato cuicumque puer, licet ipse videret
plura domi fraga et maiores glandis acervos;
tam venerabile erat praecedere quattuor annis,
primaque par adeo sacrae lanugo senectae.
nunc si depositum non infitietur amicus,
si reddat veterem cum tota aerugine follem,
prodigiosa fides et Tuscis digna libellis

quaeque coronata lustrari debeat agna.
egregium sanctumque virum si cerno, bimembri
hoc monstrum puero vel mirandis sub aratro
piscibus inventis et fetae comparo mulae,
sollicitus, tamquam lapides effuderit imber
examenque apium longa consederit uva
culmine delubri, tamquam in mare fluxerit amnis
gurgitibus miris et lactis vertice torrens.
intercepta decem quereris sestertia fraude
sacrilega. quid si bis centum perdidit alter
hoc arcana modo? maiorem tertius illa
summam, quam patulae vix ceperat angulus arcae?
tam facile et pronum est superos contemnere testes,
si mortalis idem nemo sciat. aspice quanta
voce neget, quae sit ficti constantia vultus.
per Solis radios Tarpeiaque fulmina iurat
et Martis frameam et Cirrhaei spicula vatis,
per calamos venatricis pharetramque puellae
perque tuum, pater Aegaei Neptune, tridentem,
addit et Herculeos arcus hastamque Minervae,
quidquid habent telorum armamentaria caeli.
si vero et pater est, 'comedam' inquit 'flebile nati
sinciput elixi Pharioque madentis aceto.'
sunt in fortunae qui casibus omnia ponant
et nullo credant mundum rectore moveri
natura volvente vices et lucis et anni,
atque ideo intrepidi quaecumque altaria tangunt.
est alius metuens ne crimen poena sequatur,
hic putat esse deos et peierat, atque ita secum:
'decernat quodcumque volet de corpore nostro
Isis et irato feriat mea lumina sistro,
dummodo vel caecus teneam quos abnego nummos.
et phthisis et vomicae putres et dimidium crus
sunt tanti. pauper locupletem optare podagram
nec dubitet Ladas, si non eget Anticyra nec

Archigene; quid enim velocis gloria plantae
praestat et esuriens Pisaeae ramus olivae?
ut sit magna tamen, certe lenta ira deorum est;
si curant igitur cunctos punire nocentes,
quando ad me venient? sed et exorabile numen
fortasse experiar, solet his ignoscere. multi
committunt eadem diverso crimina fato:
ille crucem sceleris pretium tulit, hic diadema.'
sic animum dirae trepidum formidine culpae
confirmat, tunc te sacra ad delubra vocantem
praecedit, trahere immo ultro ac vexare paratus.
nam cum magna malae superest audacia causae,
creditur a multis fiducia. mimum agit ille,
urbani qualem fugitivus scurra Catulli:
tu miser exclamas, ut Stentora vincere possis,
vel potius quantum Gradivus Homericus: 'audis,
Iuppiter, haec, nec labra moves, cum mittere vocem
debueris vel marmoreus vel aeneus? aut cur
in carbone tuo charta pia tura soluta
ponimus et sectum vituli iecur albaque porci
omenta? ut video, nullum discrimen habendum est
effigies inter vestras statuamque Vagelli.'
accipe quae contra valeat solacia ferre
et qui nec cynicos nec stoica dogmata legit
a cynicis tunica distantia, non Epicurum
suspicit exigui laetum plantaribus horti.
curentur dubii medicis maioribus aegri:
tu venam vel discipulo committe Philippi.
si nullum in terris tam detestabile factum
ostendis, taceo, nec pugnis caedere pectus
te veto nec plana faciem contundere palma,
quandoquidem accepto claudenda est ianua damno,
et maiore domus gemitu, maiore tumultu
planguntur nummi quam funera; nemo dolorem
fingit in hoc casu, vestem diducere summam

contentus, vexare oculos umore coacto:
ploratur lacrimis amissa pecunia veris.
sed si cuncta vides simili fora plena querella,
si decies lectis diversa parte tabellis
vana supervacui dicunt chirographa ligni,
arguit ipsorum quos littera gemmaque princeps
sardonychum, loculis quae custoditur eburnis,
ten—o delicias—extra communia censes
ponendum, quia tu gallinae filius albae,
nos viles pulli nati infelicibus ovis?
rem pateris modicam et mediocri bile ferendam,
si flectas oculos maiora ad crimina. confer
conductum latronem, incendia sulpure coepta
atque dolo, primos cum ianua colligit ignes;
confer et hos, veteris qui tollunt grandia templi
pocula adorandae robiginis et populorum
dona vel antiquo positas a rege coronas;
haec ibi si non sunt, minor exstat sacrilegus qui
radat inaurati femur Herculis et faciem ipsam
Neptuni, qui bratteolam de Castore ducat—
an dubitet solitus totum conflare Tonantem?—
confer et artifices mercatoremque veneni
et deducendum corio bovis in mare, cum quo
clauditur adversis innoxia simia fatis.
haec quota pars scelerum, quae custos Gallicus urbis
usque a lucifero donec lux occidat audit?
humani generis mores tibi nosse volenti
sufficit una domus; paucos consume dies et
dicere te miserum, postquam illinc veneris, aude.
quis tumidum guttur miratur in Alpibus aut quis
in Meroe crasso maiorem infante mamillam?
caerula quis stupuit Germani lumina, flavam
caesariem et madido torquentem cornua cirro?
nempe quod haec illis natura est omnibus una.
ad subitas Thracum volucres nubemque sonoram

Pygmaeus parvis currit bellator in armis,
mox inpar hosti raptusque per aera curvis
unguibus a saeva fertur grue. si videas hoc
gentibus in nostris, risu quatiare; sed illic,
quamquam eadem adsidue spectentur proelia, ridet
nemo, ubi tota cohors pede non est altior uno.
'nullane peiuri capitis fraudisque nefandae
poena erit?' abreptum crede hunc graviore catena
protinus et nostro—quid plus velit ira?—necari
arbitrio: manet illa tamen iactura nec umquam
depositum tibi sospes erit, sed corpore trunco
invidiosa dabit minimus solacia sanguis.
'at vindicta bonum vita iucundius ipsa.'
nempe hoc indocti, quorum praecordia nullis
interdum aut levibus videas flagrantia causis:
quantulacumque adeo est occasio sufficit irae.
Chrysippus non dicet idem nec mite Thaletis
ingenium dulcique senex vicinus Hymetto,
qui partem acceptae saeva inter vincla cicutae
accusatori nollet dare. plurima felix
paulatim vitia atque errores exuit, omnes
prima docet rectum sapientia. quippe minuti
semper et infirmi est animi exiguique voluptas
ultio. continuo sic collige, quod vindicta
nemo magis gaudet quam femina. cur tamen hos tu
evasisse putes, quos diri conscia facti
mens habet attonitos et surdo verbere caedit
occultum quatiente animo tortore flagellum?
poena autem vehemens ac multo saevior illis
quas et Caedicius gravis invenit et Rhadamanthus,
nocte dieque suum gestare in pectore testem.
Spartano cuidam respondit Pythia vates
haut inpunitum quondam fore quod dubitaret
depositum retinere et fraudem iure tueri
iurando. quaerebat enim quae numinis esset

mens et an hoc illi facinus suaderet Apollo.
reddidit ergo metu, non moribus, et tamen omnem
vocem adyti dignam templo veramque probavit
extinctus tota pariter cum prole domoque
et quamvis longa deductis gente propinquis.
has patitur poenas peccandi sola voluntas.
nam scelus intra se tacitum qui cogitat ullum,
facti crimen habet. cedo si conata peregit.
perpetua anxietas, nec mensae tempore cessat
faucibus ut morbo siccis interque molares
difficili crescente cibo, sed vina misellus
expuit, Albani veteris pretiosa senectus
displicet; ostendas melius, densissima ruga
cogitur in frontem velut acri ducta Falerno.
nocte brevem si forte indulsit cura soporem
et toto versata toro iam membra quiescunt,
continuo templum et violati numinis aras
et quod praecipuis mentem sudoribus urguet,
te videt in somnis; tua sacra et maior imago
humana turbat pavidum cogitque fateri.
hi sunt qui trepidant et ad omnia fulgura pallent,
cum tonat, exanimis primo quoque murmure caeli,
non quasi fortuitus nec ventorum rabie sed
iratus cadat in terras et iudicet ignis.
illa nihil nocuit, cura graviore timetur
proxima tempestas velut hoc dilata sereno.
praeterea lateris vigili cum febre dolorem
si coepere pati, missum ad sua corpora morbum
infesto credunt a numine, saxa deorum
haec et tela putant. pecudem spondere sacello
balantem et Laribus cristam promittere galli
non audent; quid enim sperare nocentibus aegris
concessum? vel quae non dignior hostia vita?
mobilis et varia est ferme natura malorum;
cum scelus admittunt, superest constantia: quod fas

atque nefas, tandem incipiunt sentire peractis
criminibus. tamen ad mores natura recurrit
damnatos fixa et mutari nescia. nam quis
peccandi finem posuit sibi? quando recepit
eiectum semel attrita de fronte ruborem?
quisnam hominum est quem tu contentum videris uno
flagitio? dabit in laqueum vestigia noster
perfidus et nigri patietur carceris uncum
aut maris Aegaei rupem scopulosque frequentes
exulibus magnis. poena gaudebis amara
nominis invisi tandemque fatebere laetus
nec surdum nec Teresian quemquam esse deorum.

SATVRA XIV

Plurima sunt, Fuscine, et fama digna sinistra
et nitidis maculam haesuram figentia rebus,
quae monstrant ipsi pueris traduntque parentes.
si damnosa senem iuvat alea, ludit et heres
bullatus parvoque eadem movet arma fritillo.
nec melius de se cuiquam sperare propinquo
concedet iuvenis, qui radere tubera terrae,
boletum condire et eodem iure natantis
mergere ficedulas didicit nebulone parente
et cana monstrante gula; cum septimus annus
transierit puerum, nondum omni dente renato,
barbatos licet admoveas mille inde magistros,
hinc totidem, cupiet lauto cenare paratu
semper et a magna non degenerare culina.
mitem animum et mores modicis erroribus aequos
praecipit atque animas servorum et corpora nostra
materia constare putat paribusque elementis,
an saevire docet Rutilus qui gaudet acerbo
plagarum strepitu et nullam Sirena flagellis
conparat, Antiphates trepidi laris ac Polyphemus,

tunc felix, quotiens aliquis tortore vocato
uritur ardenti duo propter lintea ferro—
quid suadet iuveni laetus stridore catenae,
quem mire adficiunt inscripta, ergastula, carcer ?
rusticus expectas ut non sit adultera Largae
filia, quae numquam maternos dicere moechos
tam cito nec tanto poterit contexere cursu,
ut non terdecies respiret ? conscia matri
virgo fuit, ceras nunc hac dictante pusillas
implet et ad moechum dat eisdem ferre cinaedis.
sic natura iubet : velocius et citius nos
corrumpunt vitiorum exempla domestica, magnis
cum subeunt animos auctoribus. unus et alter
forsitan haec spernant iuvenes, quibus arte benigna
et meliore luto finxit praecordia Titan,
sed reliquos fugienda patrum vestigia ducunt
et monstrata diu veteris trahit orbita culpae.
abstineas igitur damnandis. huius enim vel
una potens ratio est, ne crimina nostra sequantur
ex nobis geniti, quoniam dociles imitandis
turpibus ac pravis omnes sumus, et Catilinam
quocumque in populo videas, quocumque sub axe,
sed nec Brutus erit Bruti nec avunculus umquam.
nil dictu foedum visuque haec limina tangat,
intra quae pater est ; procul, a procul inde puellae
lenonum et cantus pernoctantis parasiti.
maxima debetur puero reverentia, siquid
turpe paras, nec tu pueri contempseris annos,
sed peccaturo obstet tibi filius infans.
nam siquid dignum censoris fecerit ira
quandoque et similem tibi se non corpore tantum
nec vultu dederit, morum quoque filius et qui
omnia deterius tua per vestigia peccet,
corripies nimirum et castigabis acerbo
clamore ac post haec tabulas mutare parabis ?

unde tibi frontem libertatemque parentis,
cum facias peiora senex vacuumque cerebro
iam pridem caput hoc ventosa cucurbita quaerat?
hospite venturo cessabit nemo tuorum.
'verre pavimentum, nitidas ostende columnas,
arida cum tota descendat aranea tela;
hic leve argentum, vasa aspera tergeat alter'
vox domini furit instantis virgamque tenentis.
ergo miser trepidas, ne stercore foeda canino
atria displiceant oculis venientis amici,
ne perfusa luto sit porticus, et tamen uno
semodio scobis haec emendat servulus unus:
illud non agitas, ut sanctam filius omni
aspiciat sine labe domum vitioque carentem?
gratum est quod patriae civem populoque dedisti,
si facis ut patria sit idoneus, utilis agris,
utilis et bellorum et pacis rebus agendis.
plurimum enim intererit quibus artibus et quibus hunc tu
moribus instituas. serpente ciconia pullos
nutrit et inventa per devia rura lacerta:
illi eadem sumptis quaerunt animalia pinnis.
vultur iumento et canibus crucibusque relictis
ad fetus properat partemque cadaveris adfert:
hic est ergo cibus magni quoque vulturis et se
pascentis, propria cum iam facit arbore nidos.
sed leporem aut capream famulae Iovis et generosae
in saltu venantur aves, hinc praeda cubili
ponitur: inde autem cum se matura levarit
progenies, stimulante fame festinat ad illam
quam primum praedam rupto gustaverat ovo.
aedificator erat Cretonius et modo curvo
litore Caietae, summa nunc Tiburis arce,
nunc Praenestinis in montibus alta parabat
culmina villarum Graecis longeque petitis
marmoribus vincens Fortunae atque Herculis aedem,

ut spado vincebat Capitolia nostra Posides.
dum sic ergo habitat Cretonius, inminuit rem,
fregit opes, nec parva tamen mensura relictae
partis erat. totam hanc turbavit filius amens,
dum meliore novas attollit marmore villas.
quidam sortiti metuentem sabbata patrem
nil praeter nubes et caeli numen adorant,
nec distare putant humana carne suillam
qua pater abstinuit, mox et praeputia ponunt;
Romanas autem soliti contemnere leges
Iudaicum ediscunt et servant ac metuunt ius,
tradidit arcano quodcumque volumine Moyses,
non monstrare vias eadem nisi sacra colenti,
quaesitum ad fontem solos deducere verpos.
sed pater in causa, cui septima quaeque fuit lux
ignava et partem vitae non attigit ullam.
sponte tamen iuvenes imitantur cetera, solam
inviti quoque avaritiam exercere iubentur.
fallit enim vitium specie virtutis et umbra,
cum sit triste habitu vultuque et veste severum,
nec dubie tamquam frugi laudetur avarus,
tamquam parcus homo et rerum tutela suarum
certa magis quam si fortunas servet easdem
Hesperidum serpens aut Ponticus. adde quod hunc, de
quo loquor, egregium populus putat adquirendi
artificem; quippe his crescunt patrimonia fabris,
sed crescunt quocumque modo, maioraque fiunt
incude adsidua semperque ardente camino.
et pater ergo animi felices credit avaros;
qui miratur opes, qui nulla exempla beati
pauperis esse putat, iuvenes hortatur ut illa
ire via pergant et eidem incumbere sectae.
sunt quaedam vitiorum elementa, his protinus illos
inbuit et cogit minimas ediscere sordes;
mox adquirendi docet insatiabile votum.

servorum ventres modio castigat iniquo
ipse quoque esuriens, neque enim omnia sustinet umquam
mucida caerulei panis consumere frusta,
hesternum solitus medio servare minutal
septembri nec non differre in tempora cenae
alterius conchem aestivam cum parte lacerti
signatam vel dimidio putrique siluro,
filaque sectivi numerata includere porri;
invitatus ad haec aliquis de ponte negabit.
sed quo divitias haec per tormenta coactas,
cum furor haut dubius, cum sit manifesta phrenesis,
ut locuples moriaris, egentis vivere fato?
interea pleno cum turget sacculus ore,
crescit amor nummi, quantum ipsa pecunia crevit,
et minus hanc optat qui non habet. ergo paratur
altera villa tibi, cum rus non sufficit unum,
et proferre libet fines maiorque videtur
et melior vicina seges, mercaris et hanc et
arbusta et densa montem qui canet oliva.
quorum si pretio dominus non vincitur ullo,
nocte boves macri lassoque famelica collo
iumenta ad virides huius mittentur aristas,
nec prius inde domum quam tota novalia saevos
in ventres abeant, ut credas falcibus actum.
dicere vix possis quam multi talia plorent
et quot venales iniuria fecerit agros.
sed qui sermones, quam foedae bucina famae.
'quid nocet haec?' inquit 'tunicam mihi malo lupini
quam si me toto laudet vicinia pago
exigui ruris paucissima farra secantem.'
scilicet et morbis et debilitate carebis,
et luctum et curam effugies, et tempora vitae
longa tibi posthac fato meliore dabuntur,
si tantum culti solus possederis agri,
quantum sub Tatio populus Romanus arabat.

mox etiam fractis aetate ac Punica passis
proelia vel Pyrrhum inmanem gladiosque Molossos
tandem pro multis vix iugera bina dabantur
vulneribus, merces haec sanguinis atque laboris
nullis visa umquam meritis minor aut ingratae
curta fides patriae; saturabat glaebula talis
patrem ipsum turbamque casae, qua feta iacebat
uxor et infantes ludebant quattuor, unus
vernula, tres domini, sed magnis fratribus horum
a scrobe vel sulco redeuntibus altera cena
amplior et grandes fumabant pultibus ollae:
nunc modus hic agri nostro non sufficit horto.
inde fere scelerum causae, nec plura venena
miscuit aut ferro grassatur saepius ullum
humanae mentis vitium quam saeva cupido
inmodici census. nam dives qui fieri vult,
et cito vult fieri; sed quae reverentia legum,
quis metus aut pudor est umquam properantis avari?
'vivite contenti casulis et collibus istis,
o pueri' Marsus dicebat et Hernicus olim
Vestinusque senex 'panem quaeramus aratro,
qui satis est mensis; laudant hoc numina ruris,
quorum ope et auxilio gratae post munus aristae
contingunt homini veteris fastidia quercus.
nil vetitum fecisse volet quem non pudet alto
per glaciem perone tegi, qui summovet euros
pellibus inversis: peregrina ignotaque nobis
ad scelus atque nefas, quaecumque est, purpura ducit.'
haec illi veteres praecepta minoribus, at nunc
post finem autumni media de nocte supinum
clamosus iuvenem pater excitat: 'accipe ceras,
scribe, puer, vigila, causas age, perlege rubras
maiorum leges. aut vitem posce libello,
sed caput intactum buxo naresque pilosas
adnotet et grandes miretur Laelius alas;

dirue Maurorum attegias, castella Brigantum,
ut locupletem aquilam tibi sexagesimus annus
adferat. aut longos castrorum ferre labores
si piget et trepidum solvunt tibi cornua ventrem
cum lituis audita, pares quod vendere possis
pluris dimidio, nec te fastidia mercis
ullius subeant ablegandae Tiberim ultra,
neu credas ponendum aliquid discriminis inter
unguenta et corium; lucri bonus est odor ex re
qualibet. illa tuo sententia semper in ore
versetur dis atque ipso Iove digna poeta:
" unde habeas quaerit nemo, sed oportet habere "
hoc monstrant vetulae pueris repentibus assae,
hoc discunt omnes ante alpha et beta puellae.'
talibus instantem monitis quemcumque parentem
sic possem adfari: 'dic, o vanissime, quis te
festinare iubet? meliorem praesto magistro
discipulum. securus abi: vinceris ut Aiax
praeteriit Telamonem, ut Pelea vicit Achilles.
parcendum est teneris, nondum implevere medullas
maturae mala nequitiae. cum pectere barbam
coeperit et longi mucronem admittere cultri,
falsus erit testis, vendet periuria summa
exigua et Cereris tangens aramque pedemque.
elatam iam credo nurum, si limina vestra
mortifera cum dote subit. quibus illa premetur
per somnum digitis. nam quae terraque marique
adquirenda putas, brevior via conferet illi;
nullus enim magni sceleris labor. " haec ego numquam
mandavi " dices olim " nec talia suasi."
mentis causa malae tamen est et origo penes te.
nam quisquis magni census praecepit amorem,
et laevo monitu pueros producit avaros,
et qui per fraudes patrimonia conduplicari,
dat libertatem et totas effundit habenas

curriculo, quem si revoces, subsistere nescit
et te contempto rapitur metisque relictis.
nemo satis credit tantum delinquere quantum
permittas; adeo indulgent sibi latius ipsi.
cum dicis iuveni stultum, qui donet amico,
qui paupertatem levet attollatque propinqui,
et spoliare doces et circumscribere et omni
crimine divitias adquirere, quarum amor in te
quantus erat patriae Deciorum in pectore, quantum
dilexit Thebas, si Graecia vera, Menoeceus,
in quorum sulcis legiones dentibus anguis
cum clipeis nascuntur et horrida bella capessunt
continuo, tamquam et tubicen surrexerit una.
ergo ignem, cuius scintillas ipse dedisti,
flagrantem late et rapientem cuncta videbis.
nec tibi parcetur misero, trepidumque magistrum
in cavea magno fremitu leo tollet alumnus.
nota mathematicis genesis tua, sed grave tardas
expectare colus; morieris stamine nondum
abrupto. iam nunc obstas et vota moraris,
iam torquet iuvenem longa et cervina senectus.
ocius Archigenem quaere atque eme quod Mithridates
composuit; si vis aliam decerpere ficum
atque alias tractare rosas, medicamen habendum est,
sorbere ante cibum quod debeat et pater et rex.'
  monstro voluptatem egregiam, cui nulla theatra,
nulla aequare queas praetoris pulpita lauti,
si spectes quanto capitis discrimine constent
incrementa domus, aerata multus in arca
fiscus et ad vigilem ponendi Castora nummi
ex quo Mars Vltor galeam quoque perdidit et res
non potuit servare suas. ergo omnia Florae
et Cereris licet et Cybeles aulaea relinquas;
tanto maiores humana negotia ludi.
an magis oblectant animum iactata petauro

corpora quique solet rectum descendere funem,
quam tu, Corycia semper qui puppe moraris
atque habitas coro semper tollendus et austro,
perditus ac vilis sacci mercator olentis,
qui gaudes pingue antiquae de litore Cretae
passum et municipes Iovis advexisse lagonas?
hic tamen ancipiti figens vestigia planta
victum illa mercede parat, brumamque famemque
illa reste cavet: tu propter mille talenta
et centum villas temerarius. aspice portus
et plenum magnis trabibus mare: plus hominum est iam
in pelago. veniet classis, quocumque vocarit
spes lucri, nec Carpathium Gaetulaque tantum
aequora transiliet, sed longe Calpe relicta
audiet Herculeo stridentem gurgite solem.
grande operae pretium est, ut tenso folle reverti
inde domum possis tumidaque superbus aluta,
Oceani monstra et iuvenes vidisse marinos.
non unus mentes agitat furor. ille sororis
in manibus vultu Eumenidum terretur et igni,
hic bove percusso mugire Agamemnona credit
aut Ithacum: parcat tunicis licet atque lacernis,
curatoris eget qui navem mercibus implet
ad summum latus et tabula distinguitur unda,
cum sit causa mali tanti et discriminis huius
concisum argentum in titulos faciesque minutas.
occurrunt nubes et fulgura: 'solvite funem'
frumenti dominus clamat piperisve coempti
'nil color hic caeli, nil fascia nigra minatur;
aestivum tonat.' infelix hac forsitan ipsa
nocte cadet fractis trabibus fluctuque premetur
obrutus et zonam laeva morsuque tenebit.
sed cuius votis modo non suffecerat aurum
quod Tagus et rutila volvit Pactolus harena,
frigida sufficient velantis inguina panni

exiguusque cibus, mersa rate naufragus assem
dum rogat et picta se tempestate tuetur.
tantis parta malis cura maiore metuque
servantur: misera est magni custodia census.
dispositis praedives amis vigilare cohortem
servorum noctu Licinus iubet, attonitus pro
electro signisque suis Phrygiaque columna
atque ebore et lata testudine. dolia nudi
non ardent cynici; si fregeris, altera fiet
cras domus, atque eadem plumbo commissa manebit.
sensit Alexander, testa cum vidit in illa
magnum habitatorem, quanto felicior hic qui
nil cuperet quam qui totum sibi posceret orbem
passurus gestis aequanda pericula rebus.
nullum numen habes si sit prudentia, nos te,
nos facimus, Fortuna, deam. mensura tamen quae
sufficiat census, siquis me consulat, edam:
in quantum sitis atque fames et frigora poscunt,
quantum, Epicure, tibi parvis suffecit in hortis,
quantum Socratici ceperunt ante penates;
numquam aliud natura, aliud sapientia dicit.
acribus exemplis videor te cludere? misce
ergo aliquid nostris de moribus, effice summam
bis septem ordinibus quam lex dignatur Othonis.
haec quoque si rugam trahit extenditque labellum,
sume duos equites, fac tertia quadringenta.
si nondum inplevi gremium, si panditur ultra,
nec Croesi fortuna umquam nec Persica regna
sufficient animo nec divitiae Narcissi,
indulsit Caesar cui Claudius omnia, cuius
paruit imperiis uxorem occidere iussus.

SATVRA XV

Quis nescit, Volusi Bithynice, qualia demens
Aegyptos portenta colat? crocodilon adorat

pars haec, illa pavet saturam serpentibus ibin.
effigies sacri nitet aurea cercopitheci,
dimidio magicae resonant ubi Memnone chordae
atque vetus Thebe centum iacet obruta portis.
illic aeluros, hic piscem fluminis, illic
oppida tota canem venerantur, nemo Dianam.
porrum et caepe nefas violare et frangere morsu;
o sanctas gentes quibus haec nascuntur in hortis
numina. lanatis animalibus abstinet omnis
mensa, nefas illic fetum iugulare capellae:
carnibus humanis vesci licet. attonito cum
tale super cenam facinus narraret Vlixes
Alcinoo, bilem aut risum fortasse quibusdam
moverat ut mendax aretalogus. 'in mare nemo
hunc abicit saeva dignum veraque Charybdi,
fingentem inmanes Laestrygonas atque Cyclopas?
nam citius Scyllam vel concurrentia saxa
Cyaneis plenos et tempestatibus utres
crediderim aut tenui percussum verbere Circes
et cum remigibus grunnisse Elpenora porcis.
tam vacui capitis populum Phaeaca putavit?'
sic aliquis merito nondum ebrius et minimum qui
de Corcyraea temetum duxerat urna;
solus enim haec Ithacus nullo sub teste canebat.
nos miranda quidem sed nuper consule Iunco
gesta super calidae referemus moenia Copti,
nos vulgi scelus et cunctis graviora cothurnis;
nam scelus, a Pyrrha quamquam omnia syrmata volvas,
nullus aput tragicos populus facit. accipe, nostro
dira quod exemplum feritas produxerit aevo.
inter finitimos vetus atque antiqua simultas,
inmortale odium et numquam sanabile vulnus
ardet adhuc Ombos et Tentyra. summus utrimque
inde furor volgo, quod numina vicinorum
odit uterque locus, cum solos credat habendos

esse deos quos ipse colit. sed tempore festo
alterius populi rapienda occasio cunctis
visa inimicorum primoribus ac ducibus, ne
laetum hilaremque diem, ne magnae gaudia cenae
sentirent positis ad templa et compita mensis
pervigilique toro, quem nocte ac luce iacentem
septimus interdum sol invenit. horrida sane
Aegyptos, sed luxuria, quantum ipse notavi,
barbara famoso non cedit turba Canopo.
adde quod et facilis victoria de madidis et
blaesis atque mero titubantibus. inde virorum
saltatus nigro tibicine, qualiacumque
unguenta et flores multaeque in fronte coronae:
hinc ieiunum odium. sed iurgia prima sonare
incipiunt animis ardentibus, haec tuba rixae.
dein clamore pari concurritur, et vice teli
saevit nuda manus. paucae sine vulnere malae,
vix cuiquam aut nulli toto certamine nasus
integer. aspiceres iam cuncta per agmina vultus
dimidios, alias facies et hiantia ruptis
ossa genis, plenos oculorum sanguine pugnos.
ludere se credunt ipsi tamen et puerilis
exercere acies, quod nulla cadavera calcent.
et sane quo tot rixantis milia turbae,
si vivunt omnes? ergo acrior impetus, et iam
saxa inclinatis per humum quaesita lacertis
incipiunt torquere, domestica seditioni
tela, nec hunc lapidem, qualis et Turnus et Aiax,
vel quo Tydides percussit pondere coxam
Aeneae, sed quem valeant emittere dextrae
illis dissimiles et nostro tempore natae.
nam genus hoc vivo iam decrescebat Homero,
terra malos homines nunc educat atque pusillos;
ergo deus quicumque aspexit, ridet et odit.
a deverticulo repetatur fabula. postquam

subsidiis aucti, pars altera promere ferrum
audet et infestis pugnam instaurare sagittis.
terga fugae celeri praestant instantibus Ombis
qui vicina colunt umbrosae Tentyra palmae.
labitur hic quidam nimia formidine cursum
praecipitans capiturque. ast illum in plurima sectum
frusta et particulas, ut multis mortuus unus
sufficeret, totum corrosis ossibus edit
victrix turba, nec ardenti decoxit aeno
aut veribus, longum usque adeo tardumque putavit
expectare focos, contenta cadavere crudo.
hic gaudere libet quod non violaverit ignem,
quem summa caeli raptum de parte Prometheus
donavit terris; elemento gratulor, et te
exultare reor. sed qui mordere cadaver
sustinuit, nil umquam hac carne libentius edit;
nam scelere in tanto ne quaeras et dubites an
prima voluptatem gula senserit; ultimus autem
qui stetit, absumpto iam toto corpore, ductis
per terram digitis aliquid de sanguine gustat.
Vascones, haec fama est, alimentis talibus olim
produxere animas. sed res diversa, sed illic
fortunae invidia est bellorumque ultima, casus
extremi, longae dira obsidionis egestas.
huius enim, quod nunc agitur, miserabile debet
exemplum esse cibi, sicut modo dicta mihi gens
post omnis herbas, post cuncta animalia, quidquid
cogebat vacui ventris furor, hostibus ipsis
pallorem ac maciem et tenuis miserantibus artus,
membra aliena fame lacerabant, esse parati
et sua. quisnam hominum veniam dare quisve deorum
urbibus abnueret dira atque inmania passis
et quibus illorum poterant ignoscere manes,
quorum corporibus vescebantur? melius nos
Zenonis praecepta monent, nec enim omnia quidam

pro vita facienda putant, sed Cantaber unde
stoicus antiqui praesertim aetate Metelli?
nunc totus Graias nostrasque habet orbis Athenas,
Gallia causidicos docuit facunda Britannos,
de conducendo loquitur iam rhetore Thyle.
nobilis ille tamen populus quem diximus, et par
virtute atque fide sed maior clade Zacynthos
tale quid excusat: Maeotide saevior ara
Aegyptos. quippe illa nefandi Taurica sacri
inventrix homines—ut iam quae carmina tradunt,
digna fide credas—tantum immolat, ulterius nil
aut gravius cultro timet hostia. quis modo casus
inpulit hos? quae tanta fames infestaque vallo
arma coegerunt tam detestabile monstrum
audere? anne aliam terra Memphitide sicca
invidiam facerent nolenti surgere Nilo?
qua nec terribiles Cimbri nec Brittones umquam
Sauromataeque truces aut inmanes Agathyrsi,
hac saevit rabie inbelle et inutile vulgus,
parvula fictilibus solitum dare vela phaselis
et brevibus pictae remis incumbere testae.
nec poenam sceleri invenies nec digna parabis
supplicia his populis, in quorum mente pares sunt
et similes ira atque fames. mollissima corda
humano generi dare se natura fatetur,
quae lacrimas dedit; haec nostri pars optima sensus.
plorare ergo iubet causam dicentis amici
squaloremque rei, pupillum ad iura vocantem
circumscriptorem, cuius manantia fletu
ora puellares faciunt incerta capilli.
naturae imperio gemimus, cum funus adultae
virginis occurrit vel terra clauditur infans
et minor igne rogi. quis enim bonus et face dignus
arcana, qualem Cereris vult esse sacerdos,
ulla aliena sibi credit mala? separat hoc nos

a grege mutorum, atque ideo venerabile soli
sortiti ingenium divinorumque capaces
atque exercendis pariendisque artibus apti
sensum a caelesti demissum traximus arce,
cuius egent prona et terram spectantia. mundi
principio indulsit communis conditor illis
tantum animas, nobis animum quoque, mutuus ut nos
adfectus petere auxilium et praestare iuberet,
dispersos trahere in populum, migrare vetusto
de nemore et proavis habitatas linquere silvas,
aedificare domos, laribus coniungere nostris
tectum aliud, tutos vicino limine somnos
ut collata daret fiducia, protegere armis
lapsum aut ingenti nutantem vulnere civem,
communi dare signa tuba, defendier isdem
turribus atque una portarum clave teneri.
sed iam serpentum maior concordia, parcit
cognatis maculis similis fera, quando leoni
fortior eripuit vitam leo? quo nemore umquam
expiravit aper maioris dentibus apri?
Indica tigris agit rabida cum tigride pacem
perpetuam, saevis inter se convenit ursis.
ast homini ferrum letale incude nefanda
produxisse parum est, cum rastra et sarcula tantum
adsueti coquere et marris ac vomere lassi
nescierint primi gladios extendere fabri.
aspicimus populos quorum non sufficit irae
occidisse aliquem, sed pectora bracchia voltum
crediderint genus esse cibi. quid diceret ergo
vel quo non fugeret, si nunc haec monstra videret
Pythagoras, cunctis animalibus abstinuit qui
tamquam homine et ventri indulsit non omne legumen?

SATVRA XVI

Quis numerare queat felicis praemia, Galli,
militiae? nam si subeuntur prospera castra,
me pavidum excipiat tironem porta secundo
sidere. plus etenim fati valet hora benigni
quam si nos Veneris commendet epistula Marti
et Samia genetrix quae delectatur harena.
commoda tractemus primum communia, quorum
haut minimum illud erit, ne te pulsare togatus
audeat, immo etsi pulsetur, dissimulet nec
audeat excussos praetori ostendere dentes
et nigram in facie tumidis livoribus offam
atque oculum medico nil promittente relictum.
Bardaicus iudex datur haec punire volenti
calceus et grandes magna ad subsellia surae
legibus antiquis castrorum et more Camilli
servato, miles ne vallum litiget extra
et procul a signis. iustissima centurionum
cognitio est igitur de milite, nec mihi derit
ultio, si iustae defertur causa querellae.
tota cohors tamen est inimica, omnesque manipli
consensu magno efficiunt curabilis ut sit
vindicta et gravior quam iniuria. dignum erit ergo
declamatoris mulino corde Vagelli,
cum duo crura habeas, offendere tot caligas, tot
milia clavorum. quis tam procul absit ab urbe
praeterea, quis tam Pylades, molem aggeris ultra
ut veniat? lacrimae siccentur protinus, et se
excusaturos non sollicitemus amicos.
'da testem' iudex cum dixerit, audeat ille
nescio quis pugnos qui vidit, dicere 'vidi,'
et credam dignum barba dignumque capillis
maiorum. citius falsum producere testem

contra paganum possis quam vera loquentem
contra fortunam armati contraque pudorem.
praemia nunc alia atque alia emolumenta notemus
sacramentorum. convallem ruris aviti
improbus aut campum mihi si vicinus ademit
et sacrum effodit medio de limite saxum,
quod mea cum patulo coluit puls annua libo,
debitor aut sumptos pergit non reddere nummos
vana supervacui dicens chirographa ligni,
expectandus erit qui lites inchoet annus
totius populi. sed tunc quoque mille ferenda
taedia, mille morae; totiens subsellia tantum
sternuntur, iam facundo ponente lacernas
Caedicio et Fusco iam micturiente parati
digredimur, lentaque fori pugnamus harena.
ast illis quos arma tegunt et balteus ambit,
quod placitum est ipsis praestatur tempus agendi,
nec res atteritur longo sufflamine litis.
solis praeterea testandi militibus ius
vivo patre datur. nam quae sunt parta labore
militiae, placuit non esse in corpore census,
omne tenet cuius regimen pater. ergo Coranum
signorum comitem castrorumque aera merentem
quamvis iam tremulus captat pater; hunc favor aequus
provehit et pulchro reddit sua dona labori.
ipsius certe ducis hoc referre videtur
ut qui fortis erit, sit felicissimus idem,
ut laeti phaleris omnes et torquibus, omnes.

* * *

Explanation of Abbreviations

Pauly-Wiss. = Paulys *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Neue Bearbeitung von Georg Wissowa, I–IV, 1894–1901.

Ruggiero = *Dizionario Epigrafico di Antichità Romane* di Ettore de Ruggiero, I, II (part), III (part), 1895–1903.

Pros. Imp. Rom. = *Prosopographia Imperii Romani Saec.* I, II, III, ed. E. Klebs, H. Dessau, P. de Rohden, I–III, 1897–1898.

gloss *p* = interlinear glosses of the *codex Pithoeanus*, first published by E. Lommatzsch in 1896. See § 159.

P, *p*, *ω*, *Bodl.* are explained in §§ 28, 32, 33.

For the explanation of other abbreviations, see p. lxxii.

COMMENTARY

SATIRE I

THE POET'S PROGRAMME

The first satire of Juvenal consists of a number of practically independent parts which, loosely joined together, form a kind of preface to the first book (*Satires* 1–5). Like most prefaces, it was doubtless composed, at least in its present form, after the completion of the other satires of the book. See §§ 10 and 11.

Juvenal first states his reasons for writing at all, and then his reason for writing satire. He will pay back the poets, to whose recitations he has so often been compelled to listen, and will find a ready subject in the glaring evils of society around him. After enumerating some of the abuses which arouse his indignation, the satirist, in what is almost like the beginning of another poem (ll. 81 ff.), claims as his theme the varied wishes, passions, and pleasures of mankind from the beginning. The distribution of the *sportula* is then described in a section of great dramatic power, which with a brief digression (ll. 127–31) occupies lines 95–134. As a writer of satire, Juvenal feels that he has at hand an abundance of material for his verse, but on account of the extreme danger of attacking the living he declares it his intention to deal only with the sins and follies of former generations.

This satire is translated by Dryden, XIII, pp. 124 ff.[1]

1–21. Not all my life shall be spent in listening to the tedious productions of others : I in turn shall devote myself to composition, for which I have had the necessary training, and shall enter the field of satire.

1. The custom of holding public recitations began with Asinius Pollio, the famous literary critic (76 or 75 B.C.–5 A.D.), who was the first Roman

[1] Here, as in other parts of this commentary where Dryden is mentioned, the reference is to volume and page of the edition of Scott and Saintsbury, Edinburgh, 1882-93.

to read his own works in public.[1] In the absence of newspaper, review, or printed book, the importance of the custom to men of letters is obvious. In the time of Juvenal these recitations were so numerous and for the most part so uninteresting that men who valued their time rebelled: hence the complaint of Mart. x, 70, 10 *Auditur tota saepe poeta die.* Cf. 3, 9; 7, 39 ff. **auditor**: sc. *ero;* for the ellipsis, see §138, *a.* Plin. *Ep.* 1, 13, 6 *scribere aliquid quod non recitem, ne videar, quorum recitationibus adfui, non auditor fuisse sed creditor.* **numquamne**: the addition of *-ne* to negative words suggests the affirmative; not only *nonne*, but also *nemone*, *nullusne*, etc. Compare 6, 161; 13, 174. **reponam**: like 'requite,' of returning evil for evil, e.g. Sen. *Dial.* IV, 28, 5 *iniuriam*, and, without direct object, Cic. *Att.* XIII, 12, 3 *Catulo et Lucullo alibi reponemus.* Horace had expressed the same antithesis in a slightly different way in *Epist.* I, 19, 39 *nobilium scriptorum auditor et ultor.*

2. totiens: recitations lasting more than one day are mentioned by Pliny, *Ep.* III, 18, 4; IV, 27, 1; VIII, 21, 4. Here, however, the *Theseis* (cf. *Aeneis, Achilleis*) is merely a type of the tedious mythological epic such as Juvenal refers to again (l. 53) and Martial often rails at (IV, 49; VIII, 3; IX, 50; X, 4, etc.). **Cordi**: the name occurs in Martial and Tacitus, but no identification is possible. **rauci**: from the effects of long reading; cf. 6, 515 *rauca cohors* and 8, 59 *rauco...circo.*

3. inpune: emphatic position. For a similar change of ictus (*ĭnpune—inpŭne*), cf. 3, 53. **ergŏ**: cf. *ĕrgō* 3, 281 and *ergŏ* 9, 82; see §157. **recitaverit**: indicates the future result of a past action, as e.g. Verg. *Aen.* IX, 784 f. *tantas strages impune per urbem ediderit?*[2] **togatas**: sc. *fabulas*, comedies in which scene and costume were Roman as contrasted with *palliatae* in which they were Greek. The chief writer of *togatae* was L. Afranius (about 125 B.C.), whose *Incendium* was performed as late as the time of Nero.[3]

4. elegos: strictly poems in the elegiac distich, devoted chiefly to the passion of love in its mournful aspects; cf. Hor. *C.* I, 33, 2 *miserabiles decantes elegos*, addressed to Tibullus. Juvenal seems to sweep over almost the entire field of poetry in these opening verses. **diem consumpserit**: Seneca, *Ep.* 122, 11 *toto die recitasse;* Martial quoted on l. 1. **ingens**: refers to the size of the *volumen* or roll; cf. Mart. XIV, 190 *Livius ingens.*

[1] Seneca, *Contr.* IV, praef. §2 *Pollio Asinius...primus enim omnium Romanorum advocatis hominibus scripta sua recitavit.* [2] Madvig, *Opusc. Acad.*, II, p. 87.

[3] Suet. *Ner.* 11; *Quintil.* X, 1, 100. The extant fragments of the *togatae* may be consulted best in Ribbeck, *Scaen. Poesis Frag.*, II^3, 157–266.

5. Telephus, king of Mysia, was wounded by the lance of Achilles and cured by the rust of the same weapon.[1] This story, as well as that of Orestes, was a favorite subject for tragedy and was used by all the great Greek tragic poets. At Rome Ennius and Accius wrote tragedies with this title.[2] **summi:** this Orestes is so long that on the last sheet it fills the margin to the very top and, though it runs over on the back, is still unfinished. The sheets of papyrus of which the roll consisted were glued together at the sides, where a considerable margin was left for this purpose.[3] **margine:** elsewhere often masculine.[4] **Orestes:** see notes on 8, 215 ff. and 14, 284. On the rhythm, see § 147, *d.*

6. necdum: for *nondum*, though really equal to *et nondum* (§ 79).

7. During the time of Juvenal the most diligently cultivated class of poetry was the epic, satirized in the next five verses. This preference was due in large measure to the influence of Vergil and to the training of the schools.[5] **nota . . . domus:** proverbial like our "as well as I know my own name" (§ 143); Cic. *Quint. Frat.* I, 1, 45 *cum iam tibi Asia sic, uti uni cuique sua domus, nota esse debeat.*[6] **magis:** *nota magis = notior*, which occurs in 9, 25. See § 57, *a.* **lucus Martis:** probably the one in Colchis of Pontus, in which the golden fleece hung guarded by a dragon (hence 14, 114 *serpens Ponticus*); cf. Val. Fl. V, 228 f. *vellera Martis in umbra . . . Phrixus liquerat.* On the rhythm, see § 147, *d.*

8. Aeoliis . . . Vulcani: northeast of Sicily lie seven volcanic islands, known in antiquity as *insulae Aeoliae*, from Aeolus the keeper of the winds, or *insulae Liparaeae*, from Lipara, the largest of the group.[7] The forge of Vulcan was localized in the most southerly of these islands, Hiera (Ἱερὰ Ἡφαίστου, still known as Vulcano), which Juvenal refers to again in 13, 45 as *Liparaea taberna* and Vergil calls *Volcani domus et Volcania nomine tellus* (*Aen.* VIII, 422).

9. venti: represented in most epic poems, e.g. Verg. *Aen.* I, 50–156; Val. Fl. I, 574–607; Luc. V, 597–614; Stat. *Th.* I, 346 ff.

[1] Hor. *Epod.* 17, 8 ff.; id. *A. P.* 96; Ovid, *Met.* XII, 112; Dante, *Inf.* XXXI, 4 f.

[2] Fragments are found in Ribbeck, l. l. I³, pp. 63–65 and 248–252.

[3] On the structure of ancient books, see H. W. Johnston, *Latin Manuscripts*, §§ 6–8, or the Dict. of Antiq. s. v. *liber*; Wattenbach, *Schriftwesen im Mittelalter*³, pp. 161 ff.; Th. Birt, *Das antike Buchwesen*, Berlin, 1882.

[4] The examples are collected in Neue, *Formenlehre*, I³, p. 975.

[5] See ll. 52; 162 ff.; Mart. VIII, 3; IX, 50; X, 4; XIV, 1, etc. That the satirist here refers especially to the *Argonautica* of Valerius Flaccus is possible but scarcely probable, for other poets also treated this attractive story; see Friedl.; Pauly-Wiss., II, 749.

[6] Otto, *Sprichwörter*, s. v. *domus*, 4).

[7] For a discussion of the names and of the supposed connection with Aeolus, see Pauly-Wiss. I, 1037, 1041.

10. Aeacus: a judge of the lower world,[1] along with Minos and Rhadamanthus (13, 197); cf. Mart. x, 5, 14 *severi sectus Aeaci loris*, and, on punishment after death, Verg. *Aen.* vi, 548 ff. **alius:** reference to Jason and the story of the Argonauts; see § 142. **aurum pelliculae:** Val. Fl. vii, 54 *Aeoliae pecudis poteretur ut auro;* ib. viii, 258 *inque sui sternuntur velleris auro;* on the use of diminutives, see § 41, i, *c*, and for syntax, § 52.

11. Monychus: one of the centaurs (*μώνυχος* = *solidipes*) who fought with the Lapithae; cf. Ovid, *Met.* xii, 505 ff.

12. Frontonis: an unknown patron of poets, who furnished his house for recitations; cf. what Pliny says of Titinius Capito in *Ep.* viii, 12, 2 *domum suam recitantibus praebet.* The peristyle, surrounded by marble pillars (*columnae*) and containing a small garden with shade trees (*platani*) and statuary (*marmora*),[2] is here indicated.

13. adsiduo . . . lectore: for this ablative, see § 93. **ruptae:** Verg. *Geo.* iii, 328 *cantu querulae rumpent arbusta cicadae.*

14. eadem: 'the same old story.' **summo minimoque:** 6, 349 and xi, 36 *summis minimisque.* On verses like this, see § 37.

15. et nos . . . et nos: on epanalepsis, see § 134. **ergo:** note on l. 3. **manum ferulae subduximus:** 'I have been subject to the discipline of the schoolmaster (*grammaticus*).' This proverbial expression (§ 143) is found in later authors, sometimes with *subducere*, sometimes with *subtrahere;* the latter, which suggests the jerk, is more natural.[3] Cf. 8, 77 *subductis;* Sen. *Ep.* 107, 11 *ducunt volentem fata, nolentem trahunt.*

16. After leaving the *grammaticus*, the young Roman passed into the school of the *rhetor*, where he was trained in public speaking. His first efforts were *suasoriae* (from *suadere*), speeches supposed to be spoken to or by some historical personage on a great occasion; see also 7, 162 f.; 10, 330.[4] At a later stage of his training, he took up *controversiae* or

[1] Ovid, *Met.* xiii, 25; Hor. *C.* ii, 13, 22; Seneca, *Apocol.* 14 f. This version appears in Plato (*Apol.* p. 41 A, *Gorg.* p. 523 E) and Isocrates (ix, 14 f.), but Aristophanes (*Ran.* 465 ff.) and Lucian (*Dial. Mort.* 20; *Char.* 2) represent Aeacus as the janitor of Hades.

[2] *Marmora* may include also the walls, pavement, and anything else of marble.

[3] In Macrobius, Sidonius, and Hieronymus: see Otto, *Sprichwörter*, s. v. *ferula.* In the same way Ovid uses *subducere* in *Her.* 6, 67 *caerula propulsae subducitur unda carinae*, but Vergil, *Aen.* v, 199 *subtrahiturque solum*, has *subtrahere* in the same connection.

[4] Common themes were the deliberation of Alexander the Great whether to enter Babylon, and that of Hannibal whether to attack Rome after Cannae. The abdication of Sulla was a favorite; Quintil. iii. 8, 53. How thoroughly saturated was the literature of the empire by the effects of this training, may be exemplified by the Greek verses quoted in the epitaph of Q. Sulpicius Maximus, a lad of eleven years, who entered a poetic contest for a prize with 'the reprimand of Zeus to Helios for allowing Phaethon to drive his chariot' (Kaibel, *Insc. Gr. Sic. et It.*, 2012).

imaginary legal cases: see note on 7, 168. **privatus**: 'retire from office and . . .' This earlier republican use of the word does not occur again in Juvenal, who employs it elsewhere, as is usual during the empire, with reference to private citizens or subjects as distinguished from the emperor and his family; cf. 4, 66; 6, 114; 12, 107; 13, 41. **altum**: for the case, see § 81 and G.-L. § 333.

18. vatibus: Tac. *Dial.* 9 *egregium poetam vel, si hoc honorificentius est, praeclarissimum vatem.* This old word for 'speaker,' 'poet' was supplanted as early as Ennius by the Greek *poeta*, which was then the more honorable term. With Vergil and Horace, however, *vates* came to mean something more than a mere poet, an inspired bard. Here, as in Lucr. 1, 102, 109, it is used ironically.[1] **perīturae**: Mart. II, 1, 4 *brevior quod mihi charta perit.* In this sense 'be wasted,' *perire* is common in Juvenal. On the use of the future participle, see § 118, *c*.

19. decurrere: 'run through the course'; for the metaphor (§ 127), cf. Cic. *Cat. M.* 83 *nec...velim quasi decurso spatio ad carceres a calce revocari.*

20. Auruncae: here for Suessa Aurunca in Latium, the birthplace of Lucilius.[2] For Lucilius' relation to the development of satire, see § 4.

22–50. The eunuch with a wife, the noble lady in the arena, the barber become a millionaire, the lordly airs of upstarts, the disgraceful means employed to get riches,—these things almost compel me to write satire.

22. tener: a scornful epithet when applied to men; 6, 383; 8, 16; 12, 39; Catull. 63, 88 *tenerumque vidit Attin.* **Mevia**: apparently a woman of rank who entered the arena in the dress of an Amazon (*nuda mamma*) for the contest with wild beasts (*venatio*); cf. Tac. *Ann.* XV, 32 *feminarum inlustrium senatorumque plures per arenam foedati sunt.* The name occurs again in 2, 49; see § 24.

23. figat: i.e. *configat;* on this use, see § 44. **venabula**: perhaps plural for singular (§ 48); but cf. Verg. *Aen.* 1, 313.

24. patricios: metrically convenient for the wider term *nobiles;* cf. 4, 102; 8, 190; 10, 332. The scansion *pātricius*, which admits the word to the hexameter, was first used by Cornelius Severus in Sen. *Suas.* VI, 26, 6 *patriciumque nefas;* he was followed by Lucan, Persius, Statius, Juvenal, and Martial.[3] **provocet**: in this sense

[1] See L. Müller, *De Re Metr.*[2] pp. 51 f.

[2] In C.I.L. X, p. 465, a good account of the place is given by Mommsen; ib. n. 3969, a schoolmaster named Philocalus is called *Auruncus* instead of the usual *Suessanus.*

[3] E. Wölfflin, A.L.L. V, 419; XI, 504.

again in 6, 321, 376; cf. Sen. *Ep.* 120, 19 *modo Licinum divitiis, Apicium cenis, Maecenatem deliciis provocant.*

25. gravis: probably predicative, = *graviter*, 'sounded grandly.'[1] See note on 4, 103 for the treatment of the beard; cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 1, 28 *candidior postquam tondenti barba cadebat.* The verse is repeated in 10, 226; so 10, 365 = 14, 315 and 13, 137 almost = 16, 41. See § 142 and p. xiv, n. 3.

26. pars Niliacae plebis: similarly of persons in 8, 44 *volgi pars ultima nostri* and Claud. *Eutrop.* 1, 153 *pars ignotissima turbae.* For Juvenal's hatred of Egyptians in general and of Crispinus in particular, see 4, 1 and § 19. **Canopi**: a city on one of the mouths of the Nile, probably in this instance used for Egypt in general. Its name was proverbial for immorality; cf. 6, 84; 15, 46; Luc. VIII, 543 *mollis turba Canopi.*

27. revocante: as if it were about to fall off. The *lacerna* is here a substitute for the *toga*, though ordinarily it was an additional outside garment (9, 29; 16, 45); it was worn also by coachmen (note on l. 62) and by musicians (10, 212).[2]

28. ventilet: Apul. *Met.* II, 26 *et in aureos refulgentes, quos identidem manu mea ventilabam attonitus.* By waving his hand or removing the ring from the finger he causes the air to circulate and incidentally displays the ornament. **aestivum**: i.e. in summer; cf. Mart. I, 12, 5 *hic rudis aestivas praestabat porticus umbras.* See § 55. Friedl. understands *aestivum aurum* as 'summer ring'; but cf. George Eliot, *Daniel Deronda*, chap. 68 (taking off a heavy ring in warm weather): 'I understand why the Romans had summer rings—*if* they had them.' Juvenal simply says that in summer, when fingers sweat, Crispinus airs his ring, which is as heavy as he can bear.[3] Mart. XI, 37 speaks of a ring which weighed a pound and was more suited to the ankle than to the finger. **aurum**: here and in 7, 89 = a ring, in 6, 589 = a chain (?), and in 10, 27 = a bowl; see § 129, *c*.

30. iniquae: cf. 3, 8 f. *mille pericula saevae urbis* and see § 153, IV.

31. urbis: for the case, see § 88. **ferreus**: 7, 150 *o ferrea pectora Vetti.* **teneat**: Cic. *Sest.* 117 *vix se populus Romanus tenuit.*

[1] C. F. W. Müller, in Friedl.

[2] Juvenal may here have reference to an official uniform, perhaps that of the *praefectus praetorio*. In the meeting of the imperial council described in the fourth satire the only one present who is not a senator, besides the *praefectus praetorio*, Fuscus, is Crispinus; cf. 4, 32 *princeps equitum* and Mart. VIII, 48. This is the opinion of Borghesi, *Oeuvres*, V, pp. 514-6, and of A. Gercke, Gött. gel. Anz. 1896, pp. 975 f.; for the contrary view of Hirschfeld and Friedl., see references given by Stein in Pauly-Wiss., IV, 1720.

[3] This interpretation, advocated by Gercke (l. l.) and Duff, is supported by the echo in Dracontius, *Laud. Dei*, III, 56 *qui solet aestivum membris sudantibus ostrum poscere.*

32. lectica Mathonis: see note on l. 120 and § 24.

33. plena ipso: with reference to his assumed importance rather than to his size; see note on 5, 30. For the ablative, see § 95. **magni delator amici:** the attempt to identify is fruitless; indeed, it seems quite possible that no one in particular is meant.[1] From the time of Tiberius informers swarmed at Rome. In spite of efforts to repress them they were a most deadly instrument in the hands of tyrants for the destruction of the rich and noble. *Magnus* indicates high rank also in 3, 57; 4, 20, 74; 5, 14; 6, 313; 13, 247.

34. et cito rapturus: 11, 13 *et cito casurus;* see § 118. **de nobilitate:** to be taken with *quod superest;* cf. 3, 259 and see §§ 97, *d* and 129, *a*.

35. Baebius Massa, procurator of Africa in the year 70, later proconsul in Baetica, was accused of extortion and condemned about the year 93. He and Mettius Carus were noted informers during the reign of Domitian. Latinus, an actor of the same period, and a favorite of the emperor, must also have been known as an informer.[2] The *delator* is so dreaded that even men of his own class stand in awe of him and Latinus sends his partner Thymele (cf. 8, 197) on a secret mission to appease him. Cf. Apoll. Sid. *Ep.* v, 7, 1 *hi sunt, quos timent etiam qui timentur.*

37. summoveant: a common military word; cf. 3, 124 and Hor. *S.* 1, 9, 47 f. *dispeream, ni summosses omnis.*

38. noctibus: Cic. *Att.* 1, 16, 5; Ovid, *Am.* 1, 8, 73 and 10, 30. **caelum:** proverbial for wealth or fame; see § 143 and cf. Hor. *C.* 1, 1, 6 *evehit ad deos.*

39. processus: Sen. *Ben.* 1, 11, 5 *honor et processus ad altiora tendentium;* so *procedere* in Plin. *Ep.* VIII, 6, 3. **beatae:** 'rich,' as in l. 67.

40. unciolam: the Roman system of fractions was duodecimal, the unit being the *as*, divided into twelve *unciae*. *Heres ex asse* is therefore heir to the whole, *heres ex uncia*, heir to one twelfth. The diminutive is contemptuous (§ 41, 1, *b*). **Proculeius . . . Gillo:** see § 24.

41. quisque: = *uterque;* see § 64, *a*.

43. ut nudis: the same simile is found in *Iliad*, III, 33 ff., but Juvenal probably borrows from Vergil, *Aen.* II, 379 f. *veluti qui sentibus anguem pressit humi nitens trepidusque repente refugit:* see §§ 26, 128. **qui:** for the position, see § 125, *b*.

44. Lugudunensem . . . aram: Lugudunum (later form, Lugdunum, now Lyons) was one of the most important towns in Gaul, and the birthplace of the emperor Claudius (Sen. *Apocol.* 6). Not far away, at the con-

[1] A. Gercke, l. l. p. 978. On *delatores*, see Kleinfeller, in Pauly-Wiss., IV, 2428.

[2] E. Klebs, Pauly-Wiss., II, 2731, and *Pros. Imp. Rom.* s. vv.

fluence of the Arar and the Rhodanus, was the famous altar erected in 12 B.C. to Augustus and Rome.[1] At the oratorical contest here instituted by Caligula the most unsuccessful competitors suffered rather severe treatment; Suet. *Cal.* 20 *eos autem, qui maxime displicuissent, scripta sua spongia linguave delere iussos, nisi ferulis obiurgari aut flumine proximo mergi maluissent.* **dicturus**: see § 118, *a*.

45. quid referam: for the transition, see § 140, *b*. **iecur**: since Horace, considered as the seat of passion[2]; cf. 6, 648 and Hor. *Sat.* I, 9, 66 *meum iecur urere bilis.* In 13, 15 *viscera* is used in the same way.

46. comitum: 'clients,' as in 3, 284; 6, 353; 7, 44, etc. **premit**: cf. 3, 244. **hic . . . hic**: correlative, as *ille . . . ille* in 2, 93 f; 10, 91 f., 196 f. Cf. 10, 227 f. **spoliator**: cf. 10, 222; 15, 135.

47. prostantis: again 3, 65; 6, 123; 9, 24; *stare* in the same sense, 10, 239 (§ 44). The ward, robbed by his guardian, is forced by poverty into a life of shame; cf. St. Paul, *Romans*, 1, 27. **hic damnatus**: with reference to Marius (l. 49).[3] Cf. the similar instance of *iudicium inane* in 8, 94 *sed quid damnatio confert?*

48. infamia: the loss of certain political rights as a result of dishonor or crime.

49. octava: sc. *hora*. The ninth was usual; to dine at an earlier hour was regarded as luxurious (*tempestivum convivium*). Cf. Hor. *Sat.* II, 8, 3 *de medio potare die.* **Marius** Priscus was in 99–100 A.D. tried and convicted of extortion practised during his proconsulship in Africa. Pliny, *Ep.* II, 11, gives a full account of the case, in which he and Cornelius Tacitus acted for the injured province. Marius was heavily fined and banished (*relegatus*), but retained most of his ill-gotten gains. His grasping policy in Africa is referred to again in 8, 120.

50. iratis: the theory that misfortune is the result of divine displeasure is as old as the book of Job. The idea is common in Latin, e.g. 10, 129 *dis adversis;* Plaut. *Mil.* 314 *deis inimicis natus . . . atque iratis.* Juvenal was probably thinking of Sen. *Herc. F.* 34 where Juno

[1] The orthography and etymology of *Lugudunum* are treated in detail by A. Holder in R. Beer, *Spicil. Iuv.*, pp. 55 ff., and a good historical account of the place is given by O. Hirschfeld in C.I.L, XIII, 248 ff., where also the inscriptions of the locality are collected. The altar and the inscriptions connected with it are discussed ib. pp. 227 ff.

[2] Klessling, note on Horace, *C.* I, 13, 4.

[3] This is too indefinite and shadowy even for Juvenal, unless it refers to Marius. Friedl. thinks of a different person because from l. 30 he regards the satirist as standing on the street and describing those who pass by. But this conception is not consistently carried out: certainly ll. 55 f. do not present a street scene, and in ll. 60 ff. the scene is laid outside the city. Consistency in such matters is not characteristic of Juvenal. See A. Gercke, l. l. p. 979.

says *iraque nostra fruitur.* **provincia ploras:** some of the wrongs suffered by the provincials are set forth in 8, 87 ff. See §§ 132 and 47, *a.*

51–80. In the presence of domestic dishonor, youthful profligacy, forgery, and murder, ought I to waste my time on epics? Men praise virtue, and give themselves up to dishonesty and lust. Genius or no genius, I must attempt to write.

51. haec ego: see § 133. **Venusina digna lucerna:** 'worthy the midnight oil of a Horace'; cf. Hor. *Epist.* II, 1, 112 f. *prius orto sole vigil calamum et chartas et scrinia posco.* Horace was born at Venusia.

52. magis: i.e. *potius,* as in Lucr. II, 97; Ovid, *Trist.* V, 2, 6; see § 68. **Heracleas:** sc. *fabulas.* This and the two following verses refer to favorite subjects for epic. On spondaic verses, see § 152.

53. Diomedeas: of the son of Tydeus (so schol.), not of the owner of the flesh-eating mares, who was killed by Herakles; cf. Verg. *Aen.* I, 752 with Servius' note.[1] **mugitum labyrinthi:** the struggle of Theseus and the Minotaur; **cf. l. 2** *Theseide.*

54. puero: i.e. *Icaro;* see note on 3, 25 and cf. Mart. IV, 49, 5 *aut puero liquidas aptantem Daedalon alas.* On the ablative, see § 93.

55. leno: the husband; cf. Ovid, *Am.* II, 19, 57 *quid (mihi) cum lenone marito?*[2] For some reason, possibly not in the mind of Juvenal himself, the wife is not entitled to inherit; the husband is therefore written down as heir in the gallant's will with the understanding that the legacy shall go to the wife. The incident of Hor. *C.* III, 6, 25 f. is similar. Juvenal probably had in mind the story told by Lucilius of a certain Cipius who was called Pararencho (i.e. 'snoring in company') *quod simularet dormientem, quo impunitius uxor eius moecharetur* (Festus, p. 180, Thew.); compare Cicero's reference to the same story in *Fam.* VII, 24, 1, and see note on 5, 4.[3]

[1] A *Diomedea* in twelve books was written about 15 B.C. by Iullus Antonius; see Ps.-Acron on Hor. *C.* IV, 2, 33, and F. Buecheler, Rhein. Mus., XLIV, 1889, p. 318.

[2] Ulpian, *Dig.*, XLVIII, 5, 30, 3 *qui quaestum ex adulterio uxoris suae fecerit, plectitur: nec enim mediocriter deliquit, qui lenocinium in uxore exercuit.*

[3] This orthodox interpretation, based on the scholiast, is not entirely free from difficulty. When Friedl. assumes that the wife, by the provisions of the *Lex Iulia* and the *Lex Papia Poppaea,* is prevented from inheriting because she is childless, he is driven to the further assumption that the husband has a child by a former marriage. Possibly, however, *capere,* instead of having its common technical meaning, 'inherit,' may be taken as in 5, 13, in the sense of its compound (§ 44); cf. Sen. *Ben.* II, 29, 6 *magna accepimus, maiora non cepimus.* If so, we see a scheme like the modern 'badger game,' in which the guilty pair are in collusion to fleece the gallant, who makes violent love to the wife, not supposing that she knows of the bribe received by her husband. For a criticism of the current view, see Gercke, l. l. pp. 974 f.

56. spectare lacunar: Quintil. II, II, 4 *in cogitando...tectum intuentes;* see § 143, and for the infinitive, § 117.[1]

57. et: see § 125, *f.* **vigilanti stertere naso:** cf. *Anth. Pal.* X, 55, 5 f. *οὐδ' ἀκολάστου | οὔσης μοι γαμετῆς χρή με μύσαντα φέρειν.*

58. curam . . . cohortis: the young man expects to repair his shattered fortunes in the public career open to him as a knight (*eques*). The regular introduction to the equestrian *cursus honorum*, which included many very important functions (*procurator, praefectus*), was a period of military service as (1) *praefectus cohortis sociorum*, (2) *tribunus legionis*, and (3) *praefectus alae*, usually in this order, though Claudius attempted to change it (Suet. 25). See notes on 3,132; 7, 88 and 10, 95.[2]

59. omni: on the use of *omnis* and *totus* in Juvenal, see § 59, *b*.

60. dum: the clause is here virtually causal; see § 100.

61. Flaminiam: sc. *viam*. This important road, leading northward out of Rome by the *porta Flaminia*, was begun in 220 B.C. during the censorship of C. Flaminius to connect Rome with Ariminum on the Adriatic. The scene is laid, of course, outside the city; see note on 3, 255. **Automedon:** Verg. *Aen.* II, 476 f. *equorum agitator Achillis, armiger Automedon.* Like Jehu with us, Automedon was proverbial for a driver.[3] See §§ 51, 122. **lora tenebat:** this lack of dignity is severely criticised in 8, 148.

62. lacernatae: 'with a coachman's cloak thrown over her shoulders'; see note on l. 27 and cf. Petron. 69 *lacernatus cum flagello mulionum fata egit.* She, as well as the young man who sits by her side, has thrown propriety to the winds.[4] **se iactaret:** 'showed off'; cf. Liv. XXXIX, 43, 2 *iactantem sese scorto.*

63. ceras: i.e. *tabulas ceratas.* The wax tablets of antiquity consisted of thin rectangular pieces of wood with raised edges, very like a child's slate. Two or more of these, hinged together with rings, formed a kind of book (*codex*), the outsides of which were of plain wood: the inside pages, however, were smeared with wax, usually black in color, on which the writing was traced with a sharp point (*stilus*). Such tablets were used, as here, for memoranda, for wills (2, 58; 4, 19; 6, 601; 12, 123; 14, 55), for brief letters, and for business purposes. Many are extant, especially from Pompeii and from Dacia.[5]

[1] See Otto, Sprichw., s. v. *tectum.*

[2] *Sperare* and *spes* are technically used in connection with certain promotions, as inscriptions show; here, however, there seems to be no technical use. On this subject, E. Klebs, in Friedl., p. 603, F. Haverfield, Class. Rev., XII, 1898, p. 52, and C.I.L. V, 543.

[3] For examples see Sonny, A.L.L. VIII, p. 485 and Pauly-Wiss., s. v.

[4] Recent discussions are by A. Gudeman, Class. Rev., XIV, 1900, pp. 158 f. and by H. L. Wilson, ib. p. 412.

[5] See C.I.L. III, pp. 921 ff. and IV, suppl. 1 (1898).

64. quadrivio: indignation so overpowers him that he would write at once, even amid the noise and confusion of the street. **iam**: 'no less than'; the number is increasing. **sexta cervice**: = *sex cervicibus* (cf. 6, 351); thus Plin. *N. H.* XII, 9 *epulatum se cum duodevicensimo comite*, and Stat. *Silv.* IV, 1, 9 *bis sextus honos*. The singular *cervix* is not found in prose before Livy; Cicero has only the plural even when one person is meant, e.g. *Phil.* XI, 2, 5 *post cervicibus fractis caput abscidit*. The common use of the singular in the Silver Age is doubtless due to the influence of poetry and the *sermo vulgaris*.[1]

65. hinc atque inde: cf. 8, 195; 14, 12 f. **cathedra**: cf. 6, 91; 9, 52.

66. referens: Plin. *Ep.* IV, 2, 1 *si patrem non referret*. For the construction, see § 97, *d*. **Maecenate**: 12, 39 *Maecenatibus*. The name had long been a proverb for luxurious effeminacy (cf. Sen. *Ep.* 120, 19, quoted in note on l. 24), but not for pride and vulgar ostentation.

67. signator falsi: the forgery of wills, a crime of frequent occurrence in Rome, is referred to again in 8, 142.[2] The person in question, possibly one of the original witnesses, apparently writes a new will, counterfeiting the signatures and seal (hence *signator*), and substitutes it for the genuine document. Compare the similar crime in Cic. *Clu.* 41 *testamentum in alias tabulas transcriptum signis adulterinis obsignavit*.

68. tabulis: see note on l. 63; with *exiguis* cf. *breviter* in 12, 125. **gemma**: cf. Mart. X, 70, 7, quoted in note on 8, 143.

69. matrona potens: Hor. *A. P.* 116 *matrona potens an sedula nutrix*. **Calenum**: the wine of Cales (now Calvi) in Campania is mentioned by Horace (*C.* I, 20, 9; 31, 9; IV, 12, 14) and by Pliny, *N. H.* XIV, 65.

70. rubetam: cf. 6, 659. The belief that poison was made from the lungs or blood of the toad is repeatedly referred to by the elder Pliny.[3]

71. rudes melior: observe the effect of the juxtaposition of contrasted words; cf. 3, 207; 7, 28. **Lucusta**: a famous professional poisoner from Gaul (so schol.), who was employed by Agrippina and Nero. She was put to death by the order of Galba.[4] **propinquas**: see § 54.

72. famam et populum: 'the gossiping throng'; on hendiadys, see G.-L. § 698. **nigros**: Servius, *Aen.* IV, 514 *nigri fiunt homines post venenum*. **efferre**: regularly used of funerals; cf. 6, 567; 14, 220.

[1] *Cervix* is discussed from this point of view by P. Maas, A.L.L. XII, 1902, pp. 501 f.

[2] Penalties were provided by the *Lex Cornelia de Falsis* (*Dig.* XLVIII, 10).

[3] See Jahn's index s. vv. *rubeta*, *rana*. There is some doubt whether the original reading of *P* was *rubetā* (i.e. *rubetam*) or *rubeta* (abl.); in the latter case take *viro* as dative with *porrectura*, and *sitiente rubeta* together. *Sitiente* would then have causative force, 'causing thirst,' 'inflaming,' as in Ovid, *A.A.* II, 231. See H. Polstorff, *In Iuvenalis satiras observationes criticae*, Prog. Güstrow, 1896, p. 3.

[4] For references to Suet., Tac., and Dio, see *Pros. Imp. Rom.*

73. aude aliquid: Sen. *Oed.* 879 *nunc aliquid aude sceleribus dignum tuis;* see § 82. **Gyaris:** a small rocky island in the Aegean not far from Delos, often the desolate abode of political exiles; cf. 13, 246 and 10, 170.[1] To the Roman the name suggested about the same ideas as St. Helena since Napoleon I. **carcere:** cf. 13, 245.

74. aliquid: Cic. *Att.* IV. 2, 2 *si umquam in dicendo fuimus aliquid;* cf. 12, 110. **probitas laudatur et alget:** Luc. VIII, 485 *dat poenas laudata fides.* This sounds like a proverb (§ 143) and is here in strong contrast with the following sentence. For a modern echo, cf. Diderot, *Le Neveu de Rameau* (p. 70, Monval): *On loue la vertu;. . . mais elle gèle de froid.*[2] **et:** on this adversative use, see § 74.

75. criminibus: observe the emphasis expressed by the position. Similarly Dryden, II, 249 'All my greatness to your crimes I owe.' **hortos:** cf. 7, 79; 10, 16. Rome was rich in magnificent parks and gardens, such as those of Sallust, Lucullus, Maecenas, and Caesar. **praetoria:** 10, 161 *praetoria regis.* Elsewhere Juvenal has *villa* in this sense; see note on l. 94. **mensas:** l. 137; 11, 122. Tables of rare and costly materials, especially those made from cross-sections of the citrus tree (*orbes*), were much sought after, and a large number of them was often possessed by one man; cf. Plin. *N. H.* XIII, 91 *mensarum insania;* Pers. 1, 52 f. *lectis. . . in citreis; Revelat.* 18, 12 'all thyine wood.'

76. stantem: = *exstantem* (§ 44); Ovid, *Met.* XII, 235 f. *signis extantibus asper antiquus crater.* Such old embossed plate was highly prized, especially if it was the work of a great master or had been in the possession of famous persons; see note on 10, 19.

77. nurus: the specific for the generic term, by a common metonymy (see § 129); e.g. Mart. IV, 75, 2 *inter Latias gloria prima nurus;* Luc. 1, 164 f. *cultus, gestare decoros vix nuribus, rapuere mares.* Here, as probably in the following case (*sponsae*), the love of money (*avarae*) is the root of the evil.

78. sponsae turpes: Justin. XXI, 2, 10, *virgines ante nuptias abducebat stupratasque procis reddebat.* **praetextatus:** 'still a mere boy'; cf. Cic. *Catil.* II, 4 *Tongilium mihi eduxit, quem amare in praetexta* (= *praetextatum*) *coeperat,* and see note on 14, 5. The *toga praetexta* with its purple border was worn by free-born Roman boys until the assumption of the *toga virilis.*

79. natura: Cic. *Arch.* 18 *accepimus. . . poetam natura ipsa valere.* **indignatiō:** see § 157, and on apothegms in Juvenal, § 37.

80. Cluvienus: no such poet is known.

[1] A. Sonny, A.L.L. VIII, p. 491.
[2] H. L. Wilson, Class. Rev., XIV, 1900, p. 412.

81–126. All the emotions and activities of mankind from the beginning form my varied theme. Never were vice and extravagance more widespread or desperate, and the distribution of the dole is marked by many abuses.

81. ex quo: sc. *tempore;* so 6, 294 ; 10, 77 ; 14, 261. Lines 81–4 are subordinate to *agunt* (l. 85). **Deucalion**: the key to the passage is Ovid, *Met.* I, 316 ff., 381 ff., 400 ff.

82. sortes: a popular method of divination in Italy ; here, of course, the response of the oracle of Themis on Mt. Parnassus is meant.

83. mollia: 'and grew soft' ; on this proleptic use, see § 56.

85. quidquid agunt homines: Dracont. *Satisf.* 15 *quidquid agunt homines, bona tristia prospera prava ;* Prud. *Hamart.* 763 *quidquid agunt homines.* **votum**: this and the following words suggest the whole field of human thought and action which may be the subject of satire ; cf. Coripp. *Iust.* III, 74 *saltatus risus discursus gaudia plausus.*

86. farrago: Festus (Paul., p. 65, Thew.) thus defines : *farrago appellatur id, quod ex pluribus satis pabuli causa datur iumentis,* i.e. fodder made of several ingredients. So here the word means 'mixture,' 'medley,' doubtless with reference to the early *satura ;* see § 1. **libelli**: sometimes used for a single poem (Stat. *Silv.* IV, 9, 1, etc.), but here, as in Horace (*Sat.* I, 10, 92), modestly employed, probably for the first book of satires.[1]

88. sinus: *avaritia* personified is represented with the fold of the toga, which served as a pocket, wide open to receive : cf. Apul. *Met.* VIII, 28 *stipes aereas...sinu recepere patulo.* In 7, 215 and 14, 327 *gremium* is used in this sense. **alea**: gambling is condemned also in 8, 10 ; 11, 176 ; 14, 4. The earliest mention in Roman literature of a law against gambling is in Plaut. *Mil.* 164, though the provisions of this law are quite unknown.[2]

89. hos animos: sc. *sumpsit ;* cf. 6, 285 *animos a crimine sumunt. Hos* refers to the present, as *illis* (10, 34) to the past. On the ellipsis, see § 138, *b.* **neque enim**: see § 73.

90. tabulae: sc. *aleatoriae* or *lusoriae.* **posita**: in sense of *adposita,* 'near at hand' (§ 44). **arca**: contrasted with *loculis* here, as it is with *sacculus* in 11, 26 f. It naturally suggests a large sum of money ; cf. 10, 25 ; 13, 74 ; 14, 259.

91. dispensatore: the expression *dispensator arcae* occurs in inscrip-

[1] On the use of *libellus,* see H. Landwehr, A.L.L. VI, 242 ff., Vollmer's note on Stat. *Silv.* I, praef. l. 2, and H. L. Wilson, Am. Jour. Phil., XIX, 1898, p. 319.

[2] For later legislation, see *Digest.* XI. 5 *de aleatoribus,* and Anon. *Adv. Aleatores* (formerly attributed to Cyprian), ed. Miodonski, 1889.

tions, C.I.L. II, 1198 ; IX, 5177 ; but *arcarius*, an officer probably subordinate to the *dispensator*, is oftener mentioned. These positions were usually filled by slaves or freedmen.

92. armigero: metaphors from the military sphere are very common in Latin (§ 127). The armor here is the money, in 14, 5 it is the dice. **simplexne furor**: to lose so much and to abuse his slave at the same time is *furor duplex ;* cf. 14, 284 *non unus mentes agitat furor.*

93. horrenti: Pers. 1, 54 *scis comitem horridulum trita donare lacerna ;* cf. 9, 68 f. **reddere**: here, as is often the case with this verb, the obligation is implied, e.g. Plaut. *Pseud.* 642 *reddere hoc, non perdere, erus me misit ;* Verg. *Aen.* v, 386 ; Hor. *C.* II, 17, 30.[1]

94. villas: cf. 10, 225 ; 14, 86 ff., 275; see note on l. 75 (*praetoria*). Wealthy Romans were very extravagant in the number and magnificence of their residences; modern multi-millionaires do not approach them in this particular.[2] **septem**: an extraordinary number ; even Trimalchio with all his vulgar ostentation had fewer (Petron. 35 f.), and Augustus usually dined on three (Suet. 74).

95. secreto: in ll. 135 ff. the vice of *μονοφαγία* is taken up at greater length.[3] **avus**: the frugality of earlier days was a common subject; cf. II, 77 ff. **sportula**: it was long the custom for the patron to present daily to each of his clients a basket of edibles ; later a sum of money (cf. ll. 120 f.) was substituted as more convenient. Here payment is made not to clients only, but to persons of high social position, probably in return for services rendered on the previous day, such as attendance at the early morning reception (*salutatio*).[4]

96. turbae . . . togatae: in Juvenal's time this expression was probably used contemptuously of clients, who wore the *toga* on all public occasions, and were almost the only class to appear in this garb. Cf. 10, 45, where he calls them *niveos Quirites* because the *toga* was white, Mart. III, 46, 1 *exigis a nobis operam sine fine togatam,* and see note on 3, 172.

97. ille: the master of ceremonies, probably one of the slaves of the rich patron. **tamen**: the concessive idea lies in *parva* (l. 96).

100. Troiugenas: 'men of the very first families' ; again 8, 181 ; 11, 95 ; similarly 8, 56 *Teucrorum proles;* 8, 46 *Cecropides ;* Pers. 1, 4

[1] See Langen's note on Val. Fl. VII, 427.

[2] For some account of Roman villas of the period of the Empire, see H. Winnefeld, Preuss. Jahrb., XCIII, 1898, pp. 457–70 and Friedländer, *Sittengesch.*, III[6], pp. 99 ff. A detailed description of the palatial residence of Manilius Vopiscus at Tibur is given by Statius, *Silv.* I, 3 ; see Vollmer's introduction to this poem.

[3] Friedl. regards verses 95–135 as a digression ; for the contrary view, see A. Gercke Gött. gel. Anz., 1896, p. 981.

[4] A. v. Premerstein, in Pauly-Wiss., IV, 53 ff.

Troiades; cf. 8, 131. Strictly speaking, descendants of Aeneas or his followers.

101. nobiscum: here as elsewhere, e.g. in the third satire, Juvenal seems to identify himself with the lower order of society. **praetori:** the claimants receive the dole in order of rank, first the *praetor*, then the *tribunus plebis* (l. 110). The *libertinus* thinks that 'First come, first served' would be a juster method.

102. libertinus: during the empire freedmen in many cases rose to great power and riches, until finally in the reign of Commodus a freedman was admitted to the senate. In the first century many of the highest offices and positions of trust at court were in their hands.[1]

104. ad Euphraten: i.e. in the far East, whence the Romans brought most of their slaves; Cic. *Prov. Cons.* 10 *Iudaeis et Syris, nationibus natis servituti.* **fenestrae:** pierced ears, with or without earrings, were proof of Oriental origin; Petron. 102 (p. 70, l. 31 Buech.) *et pertunde aures, ut imitemur Arabes;* Plin. *N. H.* XI, 136 *in Oriente quidem et viris aurum eo loci* (i.e. in the ears) *gestare decus existimatur.*

105. arguerint: potential subjunctive of the present; G.-L. § 257, 2.

106. quadringenta: sc. *sestertia.* This income—it can scarcely refer to principal—the amount of an equestrian census (note on 3, 154), seems to Friedl. ridiculously small for one who claims to be richer than Pallas (l. 108). But the freedman does not say that this is all his wealth; on the other hand, *possideo* suggests the holding of real estate, as in 3, **141**; 10, 225; 12, 129; 14, 159.[2] **purpura maior:** the broad purple stripe of senators, usually called *latus clavus;* Hor. *Sat.* I, 6, 28 *latum demisit pectore clavum.* Statius refers to it as *maior clavus* (*Silv.* III, 2, 124) and as *tunica potens* (ib. V, 2, 29).[3]

107. Laurenti: Pliny, *Ep.* II, 17, 3, describing the neighborhood of his Laurentine villa says, *multi greges ovium, multa ibi equorum boum armenta.*

108. conductas: i.e. sheep for whose pasturage he receives hire, not having flocks of his own; cf. the use of *conducere* in 3, 31. **Corvinus:** a cognomen in the noble *gens Valeria,* used here to typify the nobleman in reduced circumstances. Tacitus informs us that M. Valerius Messala Corvinus, consul in 58 A.D., received from Nero a pension of 500,000 sesterces yearly (*Ann.* XIII, 34). **ego:** on the absence of connective, see § 137 and G.-L. § 483, N.; on the rhythm, see p. lxix.

[1] *vit. Comm.* 6, 9; *vit. Pert.* 6, 10; Dio, LXXII, 12, 3; Friedländer, *Sittengesch.* I⁶, pp. 82 ff., 392 f.

[2] S. G. Owen, Class. Rev., XI, 1897, p. 399.

[3] As the reading of *P* is *purpuraemator*, N. P. Vlachos, Class. Rev., XIV, 1900, pp. 217 f., suggests *maiorum* as the true reading and interprets 'the high dignity of one's forefathers'; see the comments of J. F. Paxton and S. Allen, ib. p. 310.

109. Pallante et Licinis: Pallas, a freedman of Antonia, mother of Claudius, became imperial treasurer under that emperor and amassed a fortune of 300 million sesterces. Licinus, originally a Gallic captive (Dio, LIV, 21) or brought in boyhood from Germany (schol.), was first the slave and then the freedman of Julius Caesar. By Augustus he was highly honored and placed in charge of the collection of taxes in Gaul, where he acquired immense wealth. As a type of the very rich he is mentioned in 14, 306; Pers. 2, 36; Sen. *Ep.* 119, 9; ib. 120, 19 (quoted in note on l. 24); in Sid. Apoll. *Ep.* v, 7, 3 Pallas and Licinus are named together. See § 50 and note on l. 102. Gradually working up to a climax in this verse, Juvenal has developed with a few bold strokes (ll. 102–109) a clear-cut type. The point of the satire lies in the fact that one so rich presses after a dole of twenty-five asses (*centum quadrantes*, ll. 120 f.), worth a little more than thirty cents of our money.

110. sacro . . . honori: the abstract for the concrete, as *summus honor* (117); see § 129, *a* and note on 10, 100. The reference is to the *tribunus plebis*, whose person was traditionally inviolable (*sacrosanctus*), though the word *sacer* is applied also to the senate (11, 29) and to higher magistrates; cf. Mart. VIII, 66, 10 *sacros honores* (of the consulship).

111. pedibus . . . albis: Pliny (*N. H.* XXXV, 201) says *cretatis pedibus*, Tibullus (II, 3, 60) *gypsatos pedes*. Imported slaves were exposed for sale with their feet whitened to indicate their foreign origin. See § 125, *b*.

113. pecunia: a *dea Pecunia* is mentioned by Augustine (*C. D.* IV, 21) and Arnobius (IV, 9), but in the time of Juvenal had no temple or regular cult; cf. *vit. Saturn.* 8, 7 *illis deus nummus est.* **templo:** see § 91.

114. habitat: this reading of Buecheler now has manuscript authority in the *codex Bodleianus* (§ 33).[1]

115. colitur: observe the influence of this passage in Claud. *Eutrop.* I, 324 f. *Tritonia, Phoebe, Terra, Ceres, Cybele, Iuno, Latona coluntur: Eunuchi quae templa dei, quas vidimus aras?*

116. salutato: cf. Stat. *Silv.* V, 3, 243 *tumulos ortuque obituque salutat* (visits).[2] **crepitat:** of the creaking of doors or wooden furniture; cf. Sidon. Apoll., who often betrays the influence of Juvenal, *quo recitante crepitantis Athenaei subsellia cuneata quaterentur* (*Ep.* IX, 14, 2); at all events, it must have suggested a sound well known in the time of Juvenal. **Concordia:** for the position, see § 123. **nido:** *saturice salutato nido, non templo* (schol.). The high location of the temple is indicated; cf. Hor. *C.* III, 4, 14 *celsae nidum Acherontiae;*

[1] In *P* the last letter cannot be read; *p* ω have *habitas*. See R. Beer, *Spicil. Iuv.*, p. 60; S. G. Owen, Class. Rev., XVI, 1902, pp. 406 f.

[2] See Vollmer's note on the passage.

Cic. *De Or.* I, 196 *Ithacam illam in asperrimis saxulis tanquam nidulum affixam.* Which of the temples of Concord is meant can now scarcely be determined, though the suggestions of this verse probably made it quite clear to Juvenal's first audience.[1]

117. summus honor: see note on l. 110.

118. sportula: see note on l. 95. **rationibus:** 'income,' the credit side of his accounts.

119. comites: the clients (note on l. 46), who must provide clothing, food, and fuel (*fumus*) from the *sportula*, their only wage; cf. l. 134 below and Mart. III, 30, 1–3. **toga:** see note on l. 96.

120. fumus: see § 129, *b*. **densissima . . . lectica:** 13, 215 *densissima ruga;* Ovid, *Trist.* V, 10, 19 *densissimus hostis;* see § 49, *b*. The possession of a *lectica* indicated wealth and high position; it was most commonly used by wives of senators. Cf. 6, 351 and Dio, LVII, 15, 4.

121. quadrantes: see notes on ll. 95 (*sportula*) and 109 (at end).

123. petit absenti: sc. *uxori sportulam.*

124. clausam: by curtains, as in 3, 242. **sellam:** here loosely used as a synonym for *lectica;* the original difference between the two is shown by the etymology.

126. quiescet: on this use of the future tense, see § 72, *b*.

127–146. After receiving the *sportula* and acting as escort on the daily round of business engagements, the poor clients, worn out and hungry, are dismissed by their niggardly patron, who gorges himself in solitude and sometimes dies from the effects.

128. sportula: distributed apparently in connection with the *salutatio* (note on l. 95). At an earlier period, perhaps about ten years earlier, Martial (X, 27; X, 70, 13) speaks of it as given in the afternoon.[2] For similar accounts of the occupations of a day, cf. Mart. IV, 8 and X, 70. **forum:** not the *forum Romanum*, but the *forum* of Augustus, which was completed in 2 B.C. in fulfilment of a vow made during the war waged against Brutus and Cassius to avenge the murder of Caesar. The rapid

[1] This difficult passage is discussed by J. Jessen (Philologus, LIX, 1900, pp. 506 f.), who thinks that *crepitat* may refer to the creaking of an old wooden image of the goddess. The old interpretation, 'The goddess hails her —— nest and clatters' (Mayor), or 'Concord, who clatters, when we hail her nest' (Duff), rests on the assumption that the roof of the temple was a nesting-place for storks. This explanation was suggested by the scholiast, but has satisfied no one; and it seems very unlikely that so remarkable a phenomenon should be referred to nowhere else in the literature. On the shrines erected in Rome to Concordia, see Aust, in Pauly-Wiss., IV, 831–3.

[2] H. M. Stephenson, Class Rev., I, 1887, p. 243, assumed for this satire too early a date and magnified the discrepancy. Customs may change even in so short a period.

growth of population and consequent increase of judicial business necessitated the dedication of more space to the courts, which henceforth occupied the new *forum*.[1] **Apollo**: Plin. *N. H.* VII, 183 *Apollinem eboreum, qui est in foro Augusti.* Similarly Martial, II, 64, 8, speaks of the statue of Marsyas in the *forum Romanum, ipse potest fieri Marsya causidicus.*

129. triumphales: sc. *statuae*. As a part of the ornamentation of the *forum* of Augustus statues with honorary inscriptions (*tituli*; see note on 5, 34)[2] were erected to famous men, especially to generals who had celebrated triumphs (Suet. *Aug.* 31). Augustus was very careful to admit to this honor only the most worthy, but some of his successors, notably Nero and Domitian, disregarded the earlier restrictions and granted statues by special favor.

130. Aegyptius atque Arabarches: it is usually supposed that Juvenal refers to Tiberius Iulius Alexander, one of the most brilliant soldiers of his time, who, though the son of a Jew of Alexandria, became a Roman *eques* and later *praefectus Aegypti* in 66 A.D. If he is meant, the fact that he was the first to proclaim Vespasian emperor and that he was in command with Titus at the siege of Jerusalem might account for the presence of his statue in the *forum* of Augustus. *Arabarches* (Ἀραβάρχων) in two Greek inscriptions is the technical title for a high official in Egypt.[3] Here, however, as in Cicero, *Att.* II, 17, 3, the word is used ironically. Cf. our use of 'Nabob,' 'Grand Mogul,' etc.

131. non tantum: the ellipsis of *sed etiam* is suggested; cf. Hor. *Sat.* I, 8, 38 and see § 138. **fas est**: see note on 10, 257.[4]

132. veteres: 'of long standing,' as in 3, 1; 5, 64; 6, 346, etc. For contrast with *antiquus*, 'of ancient date,' cf. 6, 21, and 15, 33; as a substitute for *antiquus*, see note on 14, 189.

133. longissima: Stat. *Theb.* II, 321 *spes, ubi longa venit*, (*animum exedit*).

134. caulis ... atque ignis: see note on l. 119.

136. rex: the name usually given by clients to their patron, e.g. 5, 14, 130, 137, 161; 7, 45. This reflection of the Greek use of βασιλεύς is common as early as Plautus.[5] **vacuisque toris**: cf. l. 95 and 5, 17.

[1] Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, pp. 302–7.

[2] The extant fragments of these inscriptions, some from the originals, but more from the copies which were set up at Arretium, Pompeii, and elsewhere, are edited and discussed in C.I.L. I², pp. 186–97.

[3] C.I.G. 4751, 5075.

[4] On the basis of *mengere*, the reading of *P*, *mingere* instead of *meiere* (= Priscian Eutyches) is advocated by P. Rasi, Rivista di Fil., XXV, 1897, pp. 567–9.

[5] See Hauler's note on Ter. *Phor.* 338; Brix on Plaut. *Capt.* 92.

137. de . . . orbibus: connect closely with *una*, not with *comedunt;* see § 97, *d*. On extravagance in this regard, see note on l. 75.

138. patrimonia: 'whole fortunes,' as in Seneca, *Rem. Fort.* 16, 7 *auriculis utrimque patrimonia bina dependeant.* In Juvenal the word commonly means wealth, not necessarily inherited wealth, as 7, 113; 10, 13; 12, 50; 14, 116.

139. parasitus: see intr. to the fifth satire. **istas**: see § 61, *b*.

140. luxuriae sordes: this is what Pliny meant when he described his host as *sordidum simul et sumptuosum* (*Ep.* II, 6, 1) and said that nothing ought more earnestly to be avoided than *istam luxuriae et sordium novam societatem* (ib. § 7); cf. ib. IV, 2, 5 *ut est in summa avaritia sumptuosus* (§ 131). **quanta est gula**: Mart. V, 70, 5 *o quanta est gula centies comesse;* see §§ 8, 26. *Gula* here as in 5, 94; 11, 39; 14, 10 means gluttony, but in 5, 158; 15, 90 it means a glutton.

141. ponit: 'serves up'; Pers. 1, 53 *calidum scis ponere sumen;* Mart. VIII, 22, 1 *ponis mihi, Gallice, porcum.* This use of *ponere* is probably colloquial in its origin. See § 44.[1]

142. poena praesens: Plin. *N. H.* XIV, 142 *hinc* (i.e. from drunkenness) *pallor et genae pendulae . . . , quae sit poena praesens, furiales somni;* cf. Plautus' *praesens pecunia*, 'cash down.' The dangerous custom of taking a hot bath immediately after excessive eating was often practised in Rome, because it was believed to aid digestion. The emperor Elagabalus once gave a dinner of twenty-two courses, after each of which the guests bathed.[2]

143. turgidus: Persius describes in detail the deadly effects of this after-dinner bath, 3, 98–106 *turgidus hic epulis atque albo ventre lavatur*, etc. **crudum**: 'undigested,' as in Celsus 1, 2, and IV, 18; in 3, 233, *inperfectus* has the same meaning.[3]

144. hinc: on the omission of the verb, see § 138, *b*. **intestata**: 'not attested,' 'not witnessed,' from negative *in* and *testatus* in its common sense of 'attested,' 'well known,' 'evident.' Martial means the same thing when he says *immodicis brevis est aetas et rara senectus* (VI, 29, 7); cf. 4, 97 *prodigio par est in nobilitate senectus.* Others interpret *intestata* according to its usual meaning 'having made no will,' and re-

[1] 5, 51, 85, 135, 146: 11, 84, 108; 14, 83. [2] Lampridius, *vit. Elagab.* 30, 3.

[3] *Crudum*, the correction of *p*, is supported by Phocas, a Roman grammarian of the fifth century, and by the scholiast on Persius (3, 98). J. D. Duff, however, following S. G. Owen (Class Rev., XI, 1897, p. 400) reads with *P H crudus*, which is often used of persons in the active sense of 'not digesting,' i.e. 'dyspeptic,' 'suffering from indigestion,' e.g. 6, 203; Hor. *Sat.* 1, 5, 49. This reading derives some support from Hor. *Epist.* 1, 6, 61 *crudi tumidique lavemur;* but *pavonem* needs the qualifying adjective and the position of *turgidus* seems to connect it with both clauses; see § 124.

gard the verse as an example of hendiadys, i.e. *subitae mortes senum intestatorum;* but this is a very doubtful expedient and, at any rate, *senectus* thus seems to have no special force.[1]

145. nec tristis: the clients of this selfish glutton are glad at his sudden death because he had treated them so meanly while he lived (hence 146 *iratis*); at every table the joyful news goes around.

146. ducitur: *funus ducere* is one of the regular expressions in connection with funerals; cf. 10, 240 f.

147–171. Our descendants can never go lower in the moral scale, so that material for satire is abundant. "But," says one, "in these days you dare not attack vice in high places." Then I shall criticise the vices of the past.

147. moribus: cf. 14, 52; Tac. *H.* III, 72 *si per mores nostros liceret.*

148. minores: in this sense again 2, 146; 8, 234; 14, 189; cf. the common use of *maiores* = forefathers.

149. in praecipiti: 'vice always stands on a steep incline,' and hence soon reaches the bottom.[2] For the meaning cf. Sen. *Ep.* 97, 10 *non pronum est tantum ad vitia, sed praeceps,* and id. *Dial.* III, 7, 4 *ita animus si in iram, amorem aliosque se proiecit adfectus, non permittitur reprimere impetum. rapiat illum oportet et ad imum agat pondus suum et vitiorum natura proclivis,* which forms the best commentary on this passage.[3] On the use of *praeceps* as a substantive, see § 54. **stetit:** for the tense, see § 72, *c.* **utere velis . . . pande sinus:** the metaphor is common, e.g. Cic. *Tusc.* IV, 5, 9 *panderem vela orationis;* Plin. *Ep.* VI, 33, 10 *dedimus vela indignationi* (§§ 127, 154).

150. dicas: the words of the other speaker in the imaginary dialogue are indicated by single quotation marks.[4] On dialogue form, see § 25.

[1] The old interpretation, current among commentators from the scholiast to Cesareo (1900), was not satisfactory to Madvig (*Adv. Crit.*, III, 249), who felt the absurdity of saying that old men die without wills because they eat to excess and bathe afterwards; he therefore suggested *'infestata,* which met with little favor; see E. Hübner, Woch. f. klass. Phil., VI, 1889, col. 1397 and S. G. Owen, Class. Rev., XI, 1897, p. 400. The above interpretation, which is due to A. E. Housman, Class. Rev., XIII, 1899, pp. 432 f., is supported by Plaut. *Mil.* 1416, where *intestatus* means *sine testibus,* though in quite a different sense. Objections to it are pointed out by R. Nicholson (ib. XIV, 1900, p. 53), who thinks that *intestata senectus* means, not 'the delay of old men to make their wills,' but 'grow old before they have made their wills,' i.e. 'age prematurely.'

[2] H. Richards, Class. Rev., VI, 1892, pp. 124-5. The usual interpretation 'at its zenith' (Mayor), 'auf dem Gipfel' (Friedl.) has no support, because *in praecipiti* always suggests the danger of a sudden descent.

[3] See J. D. Duff, Satires of Juvenal, p. 458, and Petron. 55 *in praecipiti.*

[4] *Dicas* is the reading of $p\ \omega$, adopted by Buech. and Friedl., while *P* has *dices,* which is accepted, among recent editors, by Duff, Wright, and Cesareo. It is true that Juvena

151. materiae: on hiatus in Juvenal, see § 156.

153. simplicitas: 2, 18; Liv. XL, 47, 3 *veniunt legati ex oppido, quorum sermo antiquae simplicitatis fuit, non dissimulantium bellaturos.*

154. Mucius: P. Mucius Scaevola, consul in 133 B.C., who was attacked by Lucilius (§ 4); cf. Pers. I, 114 f. *secuit Lucilius urbem, te Lupe, te Muci.* Juvenal has in mind the freedom of speech practised by Lucilius and hence introduces Mucius as a type of the influential persons whose vices he may expose.

155. pone: 'paint,' 'portray,' regularly used of the artist, e.g. Ovid, *A. A.* III, 401 *si Venerem Cous nusquam posuisset Apelles;* one might expect *proponere* in this sense, but the simple verb was the technical word (§ 44). On the use of an imperative as protasis, see § 107. Sophonius **Tigellinus** was a powerful favorite of Nero, notorious for his wantonness and cruelty. He was compelled by Otho to put an end to his own life (69 A.D.). **lucebis**: Plaut. *Capt.* 596 f. *te ... pix atra agitet apud carnificem tuoque capiti inluceat.* This refers to the *tunica molesta*, to which the modern coat of tar and feathers is most nearly an equivalent. The Romans, however, set fire to the inflammable materials with which the victim was covered. See note on 8, 235.

157. sulcum deducis: as your body is dragged off with the hook (*uncus*)[1]; see note on 10, 66, and for the change of tense, § 136, *b*. In this passage Juvenal seems to be confounding two different modes of violent death, burning at the stake (*fixo pectore*) and slaughter in the amphitheatre.

159. plumis: 10, 362 and Mart. XII, 17, 8 *dormit et in pluma purpureoque toro;* the softness of the *lectica* (note on 1, 120) is emphasized by the use of this word. On the rhythm, see p. lxix.

160. cum veniet: see § 109. **labellum**: on the form, see § 41, 1, *a*.

161. qui: the antecedent is *ei* understood; an exact parallel is Cic. *Dom.* 20, 51 *poena est* (sc. *ei*) *qui receperit.*[2] **hic est**: Pers. 1, 28 *pulchrum est digito monstrari et dicier "hic est,"* which Juvenal probably remembered. This use of *hic est*, which is found also in Martial, V,

has the future indicative with *forsitan* (*forsan*) in 12, 125 and 14, 295, but not in the second person. See Beer, *Spicil. Iuv.*, p. 60, and § 71, *b*.

[1] This interpretation, which goes back to the scholiast, has been considered open to objection on account of the sudden change of tense. S. G. Owen, Class. Rev., XI, 1897, pp. 400–1, adopting Maguire's suggestion (Hermath., IV, 1883, pp. 422 f.) that *sulcum* refers to light as in Verg. *Aen.* II, 697 and other places, retains *deducit* with *P* and several Mss. of the ω class, and supplies *quae*, i.e. *taeda*, as the subject, comparing 14, 105; 15, 170 and Munro, Lucr. VI, 52. J. D. Duff, however, sees in this passage another form of the proverb for fruitless toil found in 7, 48 f., for which see note there.

[2] This seems more to the point as well as in closer harmony with Latin idiom than to take the subject of *erit* as the antecedent of *qui*. See Nägelsbach, *Lat. Stil.*[8], p. 361.

13, 3, calls to mind the story of Demosthenes' elation at being pointed out with similar words; cf. Cic. *Tusc.* v, 103; Plin. *Ep.* ix, 23, 5.

162. Rutulum: cf. 7, 68. In the latter half of the Aeneid, Turnus, the leader of the Rutuli, is the rival and bitter foe of Aeneas. Hence Juvenal means that epic poetry gives no offence.

163. gravis: Pliny's reason for refusing to write contemporary history was *gravis offensae, levis gratia* (*Ep.* v, 8, 12).

164. Hylas: the favorite of Herakles, who during the expedition of the Argonauts went on shore to draw water and was carried off by nymphs.

165. ense velut stricto: Juvenal doubtless thought of Horace (*Sat.* ii, 1, 39 ff.), who professes himself a follower of Lucilius and then contrasts his own attitude. His pen (*stilus*) is a sheathed sword, which shall be drawn only in self-defence. On Lucilius as a satirist, see § 4.

166. frigida mens: Lucr. iii, 299 (*ventosa*) *cervorum frigida mens est.*

167. sudant: a physical effect of fear is here and in 13, 220 transferred to the mental sphere.

168. inde . . . lacrimae: Ter. *Andr.* 126 *hinc illae lacrumae;* see § 138.

169. ante tubas: = *ante signum datum:* cf. Verg. *Aen.* xi, 424 *ante tubam tremor occupat artus.* This expression, drawn from military life, seems to have become a proverb (§ 143).[1] **galeatum**: during the march the soldier carried his helmet and put it on only when the battle was imminent. Caesar (*B.G.* ii, 21, 5) states that once *temporis tanta fuit exiguitas ut ad galeas induendas. . .tempus defuerit.* **duelli**: an archaic form of *belli* preserved as a trisyllable in the hexameter (Enn., Lucr., Hor., Ovid), but in Plautus always a dissyllable. A similar form is *duonoro* (= *bonorum*) in the oldest of the Scipio epitaphs (C.I.L. vi, 1287); cf. *duo* with *bis* (= *duis*). On archaisms in Juvenal, see § 42.

171. Flaminia: see note on l. 61. Roads leading from Rome were lined with tombs, for Roman law from the earliest period forbade burial within the city; cf. 8, 146. **Latina**: this road led from Rome by the *porta Capena*, diverged to the left from the *via Appia*, passed through the hilly district of Tusculum (hence 5, 55 *clivosae. . . Latinae*), and touched Ferentinum, Frusino, and Juvenal's native town Aquinum, finally rejoining the *Appia* at Casilinum in Campania.

[1] On this use of *ante* and the similar use of *post* in short phrases which leave part of the meaning to be inferred, see Langen on Val. Fl. i, 139 and Vollmer on Stat. *Sil.* i, 3, 16. An earlier example is Liv. xxi, 28, 6, *id ut tutius consilium ante rem foret*, etc.

SATIRE III

THE POOR IN THE GREAT CITY

It is generally admitted that this is the best of Juvenal's satires. The faulty structure, the absurd exaggeration, and the empty rhetoric which disfigure some of his work are not obtrusive here, and his descriptive powers are seen at their best.[1] After giving his piece a dramatic setting by introducing Umbricius as the speaker, Juvenal paints in distinct outline and vivid color scene after scene from Roman life. Nowhere in literature, perhaps, have we more clear and lifelike pictures of the past, —which, once enjoyed, become a priceless and abiding possession.

Among modern imitations the most noteworthy is Samuel Johnson's 'London, a Poem in Imitation of the Third Satire of Juvenal,' published in 1738. The translation of Dryden is found in vol. XIII, pp. 135 ff.

1–20. I am quite upset by the departure of my old friend Umbricius, but I think he is wise in seeking a safer and more congenial home. While his effects were being packed into the wagon, he walked with me into Egeria's vale, now the haunt of beggars.

1. veteris: see note on 1, 132. **confusus**: Stat. *Silv.* II, praef. *carmen et a confuso scriptum et dolenti datum;* Plin. *Ep.* V, 5, 1 *nuntius me gravi dolore confudit.* On *quamvis* with participle, see § 114, *b*.

2. vacuis: cf. 10, 102 *vacuis... Vlubris* and see note on 10, 100. **Cumis**: the oldest Greek colony in Italy, situated on the coast of Campania near Cape Misenum. In the early days of Rome, Cumae was a populous and important city, but later, through wars, lost both its population and its importance. Cf. Stat. *Silv.* IV, 3, 65 *quieta Cyme.*[2]

3. destinet: see § 116, *c*. **Sibyllae**: cf. 8, 126 and Verg. *Aen.* VI, 1 ff.

4. ianua Baiarum: travellers passed through Cumae on their way to Baiae, which was situated on the peninsula to the south. The hot sulphur springs and mild climate led many Romans to build seaside residences there.[3]

5. secessus: genitive of specification or definition; see G.-L. § 361, Lane, § 1255. **Prochytam**: now Procida, a small island near Cape Misenum, taken as a type of a desolate abode: cf. Stat. *Silv.* II, 2, 76 *Prochyta aspera.* **Suburae**: the *Subura*, N. E. of the *forum Romanum*, was one of the noisiest and most crowded streets in Rome; cf. 11, 51 *a ferventi migrare Subura*; Mart. XII, 18, 2 *clamosa in Subura.*

[1] See § 36. [2] Beloch, *Campanien*, 1890², p. 152: C.I.L. X, pp. 350 f.
[3] Beloch, l. l. pp. 180–8.

7. incendia: on account of the character of the buildings and the lack of adequate protection, fires were frequent and disastrous: the subject is elaborated in ll. 197–222. **lapsus**: see the details in ll. 190–6.

8. pericula: some are mentioned in ll. 232–314. **saevae**: 'pitiless'; cf. 1, 30 f. *iniquae tam patiens urbis.*

9. recitantes: see note on 1, 1. The climax is absurd; cf. 8, 220.

10. domus: 'household effects'; cf. ll. 23 f. and see note on l. 261. The loading takes place at the city gate because for the first ten hours of the day wagons—except in a few special cases (note on l. 255)—were excluded from the streets by a law of Caesar.[1] One of the results of this regulation is mentioned in ll. 235 ff. **raeda**: like other names for vehicles on wheels (*carrus, cisium, esseda, petorritum, carpentum*), *raeda* was borrowed from the Gallic (Keltic): see § 46, *b* and notes on l. 118 and 8, 157. It was a lumbering four-wheeler used for travelling, and in some measure corresponds to the French diligence.

11. madidamque Capenam: through the *porta Capena* of the old Servian wall travellers left for the South by the *via Appia*. The dripping was from the *rivus Herculaneus*, a branch of the *aqua Marcia*, constructed under Nerva (96–98 A.D.). This brought water to the Caelian and then passed over the *porta Capena*, the mediaeval *arcus stillans*, to the Aventine.[2]

12. nocturnae: see § 55. **constituebat**: absolutely in this sense in 6, 487. **amicae**: Liv. 1, 19, 5 *simulat sibi cum dea Egeria congressus nocturnos esse*; cf. l. 17.

14. Iudaeis: the Jews in Rome were generally despised and misunderstood, and for a long time were not clearly distinguished from Christians; cf. l. 296; 14, 96 ff. The grove of Egeria and the *Camenae* outside the *porta Capena* had been rented to Jews, possibly as a site for a synagogue, and was swarming with beggars. **cophinus faenumque**: also in 6, 543 the sign of the Jew. The basket was his larder, the hay his pillow: cf. Sen. Dial. vii, 25, 2.[3] **supellex**: 'outfit.'

16. Camenis: Roman prophetic divinities, whose shrine was on the left of the *via Appia* just outside the city (note on l. 14). From early times they were popularly identified with the Greek Muses.[4]

18. veris: sc. *speluncis* (§ 83, *a*): Livy, 1, 21, 3 *medium* (*lucum*) *ex*

[1] *Lex Iulia Municipalis* of 45 B.C.; cf. C.I.L. 1, 206.

[2] Chr. Hülsen, in Pauly-Wiss., III, 1506; Jordan, *Topographie*, 1, 1, p. 465.

[3] The improbable view, based on an old scholion, that they were to keep food warm for the Sabbath, is discussed by Rönsch, *Coll. Phil.* pp. 249 ff.

[4] Gellius, 1, 24, 2; XVIII, 9, 5.

opaco specu fons perenni rigabat aqua. Juvenal objects to the modern additions which have destroyed the natural beauty of the place. **praesentius**: a rare comparative, found again in II, 111 ; see § 57, *c*.

20. violarent: 'desecrate'; cf. II, 116. **tofum**: the soft volcanic stone known as tufa (*lapis ruber*) was the only available material for the earliest Roman builders.[1] Towards the end of the Republic, marble, brought from other parts of Italy or imported from Greece, Numidia, and elsewhere, began to be used extensively for finer buildings.

21–57. "As an honest man can no longer live in Rome, I am resolved to go, while yet I may. Men without conscience or honor may remain, but I will not win the favor of the rich as an accomplice in their crimes or as a partner in their guilty secrets."

21. quando: causal (= *quandoquidem*), as in 5, 93.

23. here: according to Quintilian (I, 7, 22) this was the regular form in his day for the earlier locative *heri*. Yet *here* is read in some passages of Plautus on the authority of *codex A*, e.g. *Mil.* 59.[2] **eadem**: sc. *res*.

24. deteret: strictly a transitive verb, used here as a reflexive (= *se deteret*) ; cf. 16, 50 *res atteritur*.[3] With *res* as the subject, the result is regarded as outside the control of the agent (Buech.).

25. Daedalus: cf. ll. 79 f. and I, 54 ; Verg. *Aen.* VI, 14 ff. *Daedalus praepetibus pinnis ausus se credere caelo . . . Chalcidicaque levis tandem super astitit arce.* The clause is a periphrasis for Cumae; see § 142.

27. Lachesi: so in Mart. I, 88, 9. Lachesis is the spinner of life's thread ; hence *stamen* = life, e.g. 10, 252 and 14, 249.

28. subeunte bacillo: Cyprian, *Iud.* 714 *gemina subeunte columna.* On the diminutive, see § 41, I, *d*. **Artorius et Catulus**: real persons are not necessarily meant; see § 24. **istic**: see § 61, *b*.

30. nigrum in candida: proverbial in Latin as in English (§ 143) ; Ovid, *Met.* XI, 315 f. *candida de nigris et de candentibus atra* (*facere*). Similarly Ter. *Phor.* 771 *qui recta prava faciunt.*

31. conducere: Hor. *Epist.* I, 1, 77 *pars hominum gestit conducere publica.* Dishonesty may be implied in connection with some of these occupations. The reference in *flumina portus* is probably to the farming of river and harbor tolls.

[1] See Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations*, p. 32. [2] See Ritschl, *Opusc.*, II, p. 255.

[3] For verbs of decreasing so used, many instances of present participle can be adduced, but few of finite moods. Close parallels are Coripp. *Ioh.* VII, 347 *flumina iam minuunt* ; ib. VI, 367 ; see Wölfflin, A.L.L. X, pp. 1–10.

32. siccandam eluviem: the cleaning of the sewers (schol.). Convicts were usually employed for this purpose (Trajan to Pliny, *Ep.* 32, 2) and the contractors who had charge of the work were held in slight esteem. Others, however, refer to the inundations of the Tiber and to the necessity of clearing away the filth left by the receding waters. **portandum**: the office of the undertaker (*libitinarius*) likewise was despised.

33. sub hasta: suggesting military conquest and therefore ownership (*domina*). The verse refers to the despised but lucrative calling of the *praeco*, one of whose functions was to sell slaves: cf. l. 157 and 7, 6.[1]

34. cornicines: men who formerly were the musicians of a travelling show have now reached such wealth and prominence that they furnish gladiatorial exhibitions.

35. notaeque per oppida: Mart. III, 95, 7 *notumque per oppida nomen.* **buccae**: of a mouthing orator in II, 34; see § 43.

36. verso pollice: *pollicem vertere* (*convertere;* see § 44) indicates the gesture by which the spectators ordered the death of a conquered gladiator, *pollicem premere* the one by which they demanded that his life be spared: cf. Plin. *N. H.* XXVIII, 25 and Hor. *Epist.* I, 18, 66. The exact nature of these gestures is uncertain.[2]

38. foricas: public conveniences similar to those seen in Europe now. The upstart, ready for anything (*omnia*), leases these and makes them a source of revenue. The emperor Vespasian was blamed by his son Titus for doing the same thing (Suet. 23).[3] **cum sint**: sc. *tales.*[4]

40. voluit Fortuna iocari: for the thought, cf. 6, 608; 7, 197.

41. quid Romae faciam: similarly Mart. III, 38, 13 *quid faciam? suade: nam certum est vivere Romae;* cf. id. IV, 5. For Juvenal's relation to Martial, see § 26. **mentiri nescio**: Petron. 116 *sin...sustinetis semper mentiri, recta ad lucrum curritis.*[5]

43. astrorum: astrologers were much consulted by the higher classes

[1] The interpretation of Schoemann (Neue Jahrb., XCIX, pp. 765 ff.), who saw here a reference to fraudulent bankruptcy, has little support.

[2] An ancient relief, now in the Museum at Nîmes, has been said to indicate that *pollicem premere* means 'to turn the thumb up'; *pollicem vertere* would then signify 'to turn the thumb down' (Friedl., *Sittengesch.*, II⁶, p. 387, N. 4). This, however, is denied by Edwin Post (Am. Jour. Phil., XIII, 1892, pp. 213–25), who reproduces a photograph of the relief in question and believes that, while *pollicem vertere* is 'to turn the thumb down,' *pollicem premere* is merely 'to press or cover the thumb' with the fingers. For another view, see Mayor's note.

[3] See A. Gercke, Gött. gel. Anz., 1896, p. 980.

[4] Buech. punctuates *cur non? omnia cum sint:* cf. Lucil. *Sat.* fr. 396 B. *omnia cum sint*, at the end of a verse.

[5] É. Thomas, Rev. Critique, XLI, 1896, p. 487. For Diderot's reminiscence of this passage, see A. Gercke, l. l. p. 972.

in Rome and commanded large fees: cf. 6, 565 ff. 'I know nothing of astrology,' says Umbricius, 'so I cannot tell when your father will take himself off (and leave you his estate).' See note on 10, 94.

45. inspexi: technical for the examination of the entrails by the haruspex in search of omens. The use of the frog for this purpose is otherwise unknown, but for similar cases, cf. 6, 551 f. There is no reference here to poisoning with the *rubeta* as in 1, 70 and 6, 659. **quae mittit**: distinguish from *quae mandat* and translate both by substantives.

46. norunt: for the form, see G.-L. § 131, 3.

47. comes: a popular term for a member of the staff of a provincial governor (*cohors praetoria*), e.g. 8, 127 *cohors comitum*; Catull. 28, 1 *Pisonis comites, cohors inanis*. The older name, which continued to be the official and technical term, was *amicus*.[1] **exeo**: the regular word for going out to a province: cf. Plin. *Ep.* IV, 12, 2 *cum in provinciam quaestor exisset*.

48. mancus: cf. Fr. *manchot*. **dextrae**: for the genitive, see § 85. *Corpus non utile* is in apposition with the subject; see § 121.[2]

49. conscius: Mart. VI, 50, 5 *vis fieri dives, Bithynice? conscius esto* (§ 26). Note the contradictory view of Naevolus in 9, 96: similar contradictions in Juvenal are 2, 53 and 6, 246; 8, 83 f. and 10, 124 f.; 13, 181–92 and ib. 247–9. Of course, the speaker and the circumstances must be taken into account in each case.[3] **cui**: scanned as pyrrhic also in 7, 211. This first occurs in Seneca (*Troad.* 852; *Agam.* 146) and four times in Martial.[4]

50. aestuat ... tacendis: explained by 1, 166 f.; cf. Hor. *Epist.* 1, 7, 72; Pers. 4, 5. For the rare transitive use, cf. 4, 105; 9, 26; 6 A, 33 (p. 41).

53. Verri: the notorious propraetor of Sicily, whose extortions and other crimes were exposed by Cicero. He is here a type of the dishonest provincial governor: cf. 2, 26 and 8, 106.

54. non sit opaci: see § 77, and on this unusual cadence, § 153, IV.

55. harena Tagi: the sands of the river Tagus in Spain were proverbial for their golden deposit. In 14, 299 the Tagus and the Lydian river Pactolus are types of gold-bearing streams: to these Pliny adds the Padus, the Hebrus, and the Ganges (*N. H.* XXXIII, 66).

56. ponenda: i.e. *deponenda*; see § 44.

57. magno ... amico: see note on 1, 33, end.

[1] Cato, ed. Jordan, p. 37; Suet. *Tib.* 46: Seeck, Pauly-Wiss., IV, 623.

[2] See S. G. Owen, Class. Rev., VII, 1893, p. 400.

[3] *Deligitur* (sc. *comes*) is suggested instead of *diligitur* by J. Jessen, by whom also the question of contradictions in Juvenal is discussed (Philologus, LIX, 1900, p. 516).

[4] L. Müller, *De Re Metrica*[2], pp. 318 f.

58–93. "Rome has become so completely Greek that I can endure it no longer. The Greek is cunning, bold, fluent, and versatile, and takes precedence of us in everything: his flattery, too, no matter how absurd, passes for his real opinion."

As the connection between Rome and the Eastern provinces grew closer, the number of provincials who found their way to the capital was ever on the increase. So large was the influx of Greek-speaking foreigners and so great the influence they exerted that Greek came to be spoken in Rome as commonly as Latin, and in the second century became the language of the court.

58. acceptissima: see §§ 57, *c* and 138, *a*.

61. Graecam urbem: 'the city become Greek.' The Greek point of view is naturally quite different; cf. Lucian, *De mercede conductis*.[1] **quamvis**: on this rare use, see § 114, *c*. **quota**: to *quot* as *sexta* to *sex*; cf. *quota pars* in 13, 157. **faecis**: Luc. VII, 405 *Romam . . . mundi faece repletam*. **Achaei**: subject of *sunt* understood (§ 138, *a*). The natives of the Roman province of Achaea were naturally not the only Greek-speaking people in Rome, for Greek was the predominant language in the East.

62. Orontes: suggesting the people of the far East in general and of Syria in particular; cf. *Euphrates* in 1, 104.

63. chordas obliquas: i.e. *sambucas*, oriental harps; cf. Pers. 5, 95.

64. nec non: see note on l. 204. **gentilia**: 'national.' The tambourine was much used in oriental music, and particularly in the wild rites of Cybele; cf. 6, 515 and see note on 8, 176.[2]

65. prostare: Poet. Lat. Min. IV, 370, 7 *doctas circi prostare puellas*; see note on 1, 47.

67. trechedipna: from τρεχέδειπνος (i.e. τρέχων πρὸς δεῖπνον), applied to a parasite by Plutarch (*Quaest. Conv.* VIII, 6, 1): possibly in this instance, the only occurrence of the word in Latin, ὑποδήματα is to be understood. It seems to mean light shoes of elegant pattern, such as the parasites of the Greek New Comedy wore. On Greek words, see § 46, *a*.

68. ceromatico: adjective from *ceroma* (κήρωμα), which signifies a wax salve used by Greek wrestlers; cf. 6, 246. **niceteria**: prizes (νικητήρια) won in gymnastic contests and worn suspended from the neck. The complaint of Umbricius is that everything Greek is the fashion.[3]

[1] See Gildersleeve, *Essays and Studies*, pp. 326 ff.

[2] E. Klebs (in Friedl. p. 604) renders *gentilia* by 'ausländisch' (foreign), but *gentilis* in this sense seems not to be attested before the third century. See F. Haverfield, Class. Rev., XII, 1898, p. 52.

[3] W. v. Christ (Sitzungsb. bayr. Akad., 1897, I, p. 140), though hesitating to identify these Greek decorations with the *tesserae gladiatoriae*, yet regards them as closely connected, the latter probably modelled after the former.

69. Sicyone: on the Corinthian gulf. This, with Amydon in Macedonia, Andros and Samos in the Aegean, Tralles and Alabanda in Asia Minor (Caria), covers in a general way the Greek-speaking world. **ast**: this archaic form for *at* early disappeared from the literature, but, reintroduced in the classical period, became common, especially in poetry, from the time of Vergil. As a rule it occurs only before vowels : cf. 6, 67; 8, 46; 15, 78, 165; 16, 48, and see G.-L. § 488, N. 1.[1]

70. Samo, hic: the same hiatus occurs in the fourth foot in Verg. *Aen.* I, 16 *posthabita coluisse Samo : hic illius arma*; see § 156.

71. Esquilias: cf. 5, 78. The Esquiline and Viminal Hills in the N. E. part of the city were covered with the palaces and gardens of the rich. *Esquilīnus* and *Vīminālis* are avoided for metrical reasons.[2]

72. viscera: metaphorically for 'bosom friends.' **futuri**: § 118, *a*.

73. perdita: elsewhere in Juvenal of persons, 5, 130 ; 8, 212 ; 14, 269.

74. Isaeo: i.e. *Isaeī sermone ;* see § 57, *d*. This is the Assyrian *rhetor*, whose eloquence is praised by Plin. *Ep.* II, 3. **torrentior**: 10, 128 ; Plin. *N. H.* XXVI, 12 *torrenti oratione ;* Cic. *Fin.* II, 1, 3 *fertur quasi torrens oratio*. See § 57, *c*. **ede**: so l. 296 and 1, 21.

76. grammaticus rhetor: see notes on 1, 15 and 16. The troubles of the *rhetor* and of the *grammaticus* are discussed in 7, 150 ff. and 215 ff. **geometres**: *γεωμέτρης*. Greek words in Latin (§ 46, *a*) often show such changes of vowel quantity in unaccented syllables. Of course, the large proportion of Greek words is intentional.

77. schoenobates: Latin *funambulus* (Suet. *Galb.* 6): cf. 14, 266, 272.

78. Graeculus: contemptuous diminutive as in 6, 186 *Graecula* (§ 41, 1, *b*). Juvenal may have had in mind the Atticus of Mart. II, 7, who is jack of all trades, master of none. **in caelum . . . ibit**: perhaps a proverb for the impossible, like 'fly' in English. Cf. Dryden, III, p. 121, 'I come to answer thy best pleasure, Be it to fly, . . . To ride into the curled clouds.' **iusseris**: cf. Plaut. *Pseud.* 863 *stabit, astato simul* and see § 106.

79. in summa: 'in short,' like the more common *ad summam ;* cf. Stat. *Silv.* praef. IV, l. 31 *in summam*. **neque Sarmata**: see § 73.

80. sumpsit pinnas: notes on l. 25 and 1, 54. In 14, 76 *sumptis . . . pinnis* is used of a young bird. **mediis . . . Athenis**: Verg. *Aen.* VII, 372 *mediaeque Mycenae*, 'the heart of Mycenae.'

81. conchylia: i.e. *purpureas vestes ;* cf. 8, 101 *conchylia Coa*.

82. signabit: 'affix his seal,' e.g. to a will (8, 142 and note on 1, 67) or to a marriage contract (10, 336). **recumbet**: for the common

[1] Jordan, *Krit. Beiträge*, pp. 290–308.

[2] Cf. Festus, p. 574 (Thew.) ; Varro, *Ling. Lat.* V, 51.

classical *accumbere*, both *recumbere* (also 5, 65 ; 6, 448, etc.) and *discumbere* (5, 12 ; 6, 434) are used by Juvenal ; see note on 5, 12.[1]

83. pruna et cottona: Plin. *N. H.* XIII, 51 (*Syria habet*) *in ficorum autem* (*genere*) *caricas et minores eiusdem generis quas cottana vocant, item pruna in Damasco monte nata.*

84. usque adeo : Verg. *Aen.* XII, 646 *usque adeone mori miserum est ;* Stat. *Ach.* II, 80 *usque adeo nusquam arma et equi. Usque* modifies *adeo* also in 5, 129 ; 6, 182 ; 10, 201 ; 15, 82; Pers. 1, 26.

85. baca Sabina : the olive, whose oil was a staple article of food among the Romans ; cf. Sil. III, 596 *bellatrix gens bacifero nutrita Sabino.*

86. quid quod : on this form of transition, see § 140, *b*.

88. cervicibus : on the use of the plural, see note on 1, 64.

89. Antaeum : the giant who could not be crushed when in contact with the earth, his source of strength.

90. nec: *ne-quidem ;* see § 78. On the cadence, see p. lxix.

91. marito : like *uxor*, often applied to lower animals, e.g. Hor. *C.* I, 17, 7 *olentis uxores mariti.* On the position of *marito*, see § 123 and cf. Mart. XIII, 64, 1 *gallina marito* (as verse ending); on the ablative without *a*, see § 93 and cf. 6, 130 *viris.*

92. haec eadem : see § 61, *a*.

93. creditur : only the Greek has the art of seeming sincere in his flattery ; cf. 10, 174 *Graecia mendax.*

93–125. "The Greek is an accomplished actor, and consequently is more than our match : he is also a monster of impurity, treachery, and deceit."

93. melior : sc. *quam Graecus.* **Thaida** : 6 A, 26 (p. 41) *docili Thais saltata Triphallo.* The three regular female characters of comedy are here indicated, viz. *meretrix* (called Thais in Ter. *Eun.*), *uxor*, and *ancilla.* A man can present these characters so naturally that one would take him for a woman, but an ordinary Greek plays his part as well. It is a nation of actors.

95. palliolo : on the use of the diminutive, see § 41, 1, *d*.

97. tenui distantia : Prud. *Apoth.* 748 *tenui distantia fine.*

98. illic : i.e. *in Graecia.* Demetrius and Stratocles were highly esteemed as comedians under Domitian : Quint. XI, 3, 178 *maximos actores comoediarum, Demetrium et Stratoclea, placere diversis virtutibus vidimus.* Antiochus is mentioned only here, Haemus also in 6, 198.

99. molli : used of an actor again in 6, 63.

100. rides : on omission of *si*, see § 106. **maiore cachinno** : cf. 11, 2.

[1] On the difficulty of arranging guests by rank, cf. Plutarch, *Quaest. Conv.* I, 2, 1 f.

101. concutitur: of violent anger in 10, 328. Cf. 13, 171 *risu quatiare* (§ 44); Milton, *L'Allegro*, 32 'Laughter holding both (cf. *con-*) his sides.'

102. nec: on this adversative use, see § 75. **igniculum**: see § 41, I, *a*. **poscas**: see § 108, *a*.

103. endromidem: ἐνδρομίς (§ 46, *a*), a heavy woolen wrap mentioned also in 6, 246; Mart. IV, 19, 4 and XIV, 126.

104. ergo: see note on 1, 3 and § 157. **pares**: Mart. II, 18, 2 *iam sumus ergo pares;* see § 26.

105. nocte dieque: at beginning of line also in 13, 198, at end of line in 7, 61, and not rarely in other poets.[1] **vultum**: cf. 9, 19 f.; Plaut. *Amph.* 960 *voltum e voltu comparet;* Stat. *Silv.* II, 6, 53 *vultumque tuo sumebat ab ore.*

106. iactare manus: Cic. *Acad.* II, 63 *vehementer admirans...ut etiam manus saepe tolleret;* Catull. 53, 4 *admirans ait haec manusque tollens;* Petron. 57 *cum omnia sublatis manibus eluderet.*[2]

107. ructavit: cf. 6, 10. **rectum**: see § 81 and G.-L. § 333.

109. trulla: 'commode.' That it was sometimes made of gold we know from Mart. I, 37 and Lamp. *Elegab.* 32, 2 *onus ventris auro excepit.* In this instance it has a reversible bottom.[3] **crepitum dedit**: cf. 1, 116 *crepitat.*

110. laris: i.e. of the household: similarly 8, 14; 14, 20; and in the plural for one housebold 6 A, 7 (p.40); 15, 153 and regularly in Martial. **filia virgo**: see § 47, *b*. **neque ipse**: see § 73.

111. levis: not *lēvis;* the reference is to his boyish face.

114. coepit: in the best prose regularly with an infinitive. **transi**: 'pass by,' 'ignore,' as in 6, 602: 7, 190; 10, 273.

115. gymnasia: Trai. ad Plin. 40, 2 *gymnasiis indulgent Graeculi.* The *gymnasia* in Rome were hotbeds of immorality; little good could be expected of those who were trained in them. Gymnastics was one of the main elements of Greek education, but was never so highly esteemed by the Romans. **abollae**: *quae duplex est sicut chlamys* (Serv. *Aen.* V, 421). In 4, 76 it is the heavy cloak of a soldier, as here of a philosopher. *Gymnasia* by contrast suggests ordinary Greeks.

116. stoicus: P. Egnatius Celer, who by false charges caused the death of the noble Barea Soranus, his patron, friend, and pupil (7, 91). For this treachery he was honored and rewarded by Nero (66 A.D.), but a

[1] On *noctesque diesque* and such combinations, see Madvig on Cic. *Fin.* I, 16, 51 and Landgraf on Cic. *Rosc. Am.* 2, 6.

[2] See Wölfflin, A.L.L. X, p. 343.

[3] This is the interpretation of Buecheler (in Friedl. ad loc.). The old explanation, 'if with upturned bottom the golden goblet smacks,' has a pleasanter sound, but is quite out of harmony with the context.

few years later was himself accused, convicted, and exiled (70 A.D).[1] **delator**: see note on 1, 33.

117. ripa: i.e. of the Cydnus in Cilicia. According to Dio, LXII, 26, Egnatius was born at Berytus, on the coast of Phoenicia, but Juvenal seems to have thought that Tarsus (*ταρσός*, 'outspread wing'), through which the Cydnus flows, was his birthplace.

118. Gorgonei: Pegasus, the winged horse, sprang from the blood of the Gorgon Medusa, killed by Perseus. On the periphrasis, see § 142. **caballi**: the vulgar word, possibly Gallic in origin (§§ 43, 46, *b*), which lived in popular speech and finally drove *equus* off the field, as the Romance languages show.[2] Cf. Pers. prol. 1 *fons caballinus*, i.e. Hippocrene.

120. Protogenes: the Greek names are used as typical of a class without reference to particular individuals. See §§ 24 and 152.

122. solus habet: for the asyndeton, see § 137. **stillavit**: i.e. *instillavit* (§ 44); cf. Hor. *Epist.* 1, 8, 16 *praeceptum auriculis hoc instillare memento.*[3] **facilem**: 5, 107 *facilem...aurem.*

123. veneno: on the ablative with *de* for a genitive, see § 97, *d*.

124. perierunt: Luc. IX, 233 *perierunt tempora vitae;* note on 1, 18.

126–189. "At Rome, too, the poor man, however good his family, is treated like a slave; he is rated by what he has, never by what he is. And hardest of all is the ridicule which he has to endure. The poor, subject as they are to every indignity, ought long ago to have gone to the small towns, where conditions are far more favorable. Here, however, we live beyond our means and are taxed at every turn."

126. porro: as in 7, 98, marking the transition. **officium**: connected with *meritum* also by Cicero, *Fam.* XI, 17, 1 and XII 29, 1.

127. nocte: i.e. *ante lucem*; cf. 5, 22 *sideribus dubiis* and Mart. X, 82, 2 *mane vel e media nocte togatus ero.* **togatus**: see note on 1, 96.

128. currere: for the infinitive with *curare*, see § 116, *b*.

129. orbis: unmarried or childless persons, especially the rich of advanced age, were assiduously courted by the legacy-hunter (*captator*), who hoped by his gifts and attentions to become an heir. The evil was widespread in the time of Juvenal, who repeatedly refers to it, e.g. 1. 221; 4, 18 f.; 5, 98, 140; 6, 39 f.; 10, 202, 238; 12, 95 ff.; 16, 56. The

[1] For the authorities, see *Pros. Imp. Rom.* [2] G. Gröber, A.L.L. VII, p. 316.

[3] There is no certain instance of the transitive use of *stillare* in a figurative sense before Juvenal, and not another for a long time after; on this account A. Funck (A.L.L. IV, p. 72) believed it intransitive here, with *exiguum* as subject. The personal subject, however, seems to be required.

rules of the art are given by Teresias to Ulysses in Hor. *Sat.* II, 5; cf. Lucian, *Dial. Mort.* 8.

130. Albinam: like Modia, a typical name for a rich *orba* (§ 24); cf. Albina in C.I.L. IX, 330 (Canusium). **salutet**: of the early morning call (*salutatio*), which the rich expected and received: see note on I, 95.

131. cludit latus: i.e. *tegit latus*; cf. Hor. *Sat.* II, 5, 18 *utne tegam spurco Damae latus.* The scholiast explains '*aut in medium servum mittit aut in sinistra ambulat*,' i.e. he yields the position of honor to the *servus*, who is here possibly a *libertinus*.

132. alter: i.e. the *servus*. **tribuni**: the pay of a military tribune was probably 25,000 sesterces (over $1000); see note on I, 58.

133. Calvinae: the name is not unusual, and Catiena occurs in inscriptions (e.g. C.I.L. X, 1159, 5462), but see § 24.[1]

135. vestiti: i.e. of the higher class, like those just mentioned or Chione, in contrast with women of the lowest sort, who were *nudis corporibus*; Tac. *Ann.* XV, 37. See §§ 139 and 153, III.

136. Chionen: common for *meretrix*, especially in Martial.[2]

137. da testem: a legal formula, also in 16, 29, but cf. 16, 32 *testem producere.* Cicero and Livy (III, 71, 3) sometimes say *testes edere*, but the simple verb is the rule; see § 44.

138. numinis Idaei: Cybele, the 'Great Mother,' who was worshiped on Mt. Ida in Phrygia. In 204 B.C. her cult was introduced at Rome, and the famous holy stone which represented her was brought from Pessinus in accordance with a Sibylline prophecy. The oracle at Delphi directed *ut eam, qui vir optimus Romae esset, hospitio exciperet* (Liv. XXIX, 11, 6) and *vir optimus semel a condito aevo iudicatus est Scipio Nasica a iurato senatu* (Plin. *N. H.* VII, 120). He thus became the *hospes* until a permanent abode was prepared. See § 142 and note on II, 193.[3]

139. servavit . . . Minervam: L. Caecilius Metellus when pontifex maximus (241 B.C.) rescued the Palladium from the blazing temple of Vesta and lost his sight in consequence of injury received: cf. 6, 265 *caecive Metelli*; Livy, Epit. XIX; see § 142.

141. pascit: cf. l. 167; 9, 67; 14, 126. Many slaves got nothing but their food. **possidet**: see note on I, 106.

142. iugera: cf. 4, 7. **paropside**: see § 49, *b*.

143. quantum: this thought is often expressed, e.g. Hor. *Sat.* I, 1, 62 *quia tanti, quantum habeas, sis*; Sen. *Ep.* 115, 14 *tanti quisque, quantum habuit, fuit.* Possibly all echo the words of Lucilius, *quantum habeas,*

[1] For details, see *Pros. Imp. Rom.*
[2] See Friedl. on Mart. I, 34, 7.
[3] Preller-Jordan, *Röm. Mythol.*, II, 54 ff.

tantum ipse sies tantique habearis.[1] **arca**: Petron. 137 *quisquis habet nummos, secura navigat aura, . . . clausum possidet arca Iovem.*

144. fidei: cf. l. 137. **iures . . . aras**: Cic. *Flacc.* 90 *cui, si aram tenens iuraret, crederet nemo;* see notes on 13, 89 and 14, 219. **Samothracum**: sc. *deorum*. They were regarded as helpers in time of danger and as punishers of perjury, and the performance of their mysteries must have been most solemn and impressive.[2]

145. fulmina: in 13, 223 lightning inspires terror in the perjurer.

147. quid quod: see § 140, *b*. **materiam . . . iocorum**: cf. 10, 47 *materiam risus* and Socrates in Sen. *Dial.* VII, 27, 2 *praebui ego aliquando Aristophani materiam iocorum.*

148. hic idem: see § 61, *a*. **lacerna**: see note on 1, 27.

149. sordidula: see § 41, II, *a*. Cf. Mart. 1, 103, 5 f. *sordidior multo post hoc toga, paenula peior, calceus est sarta terque quaterque cute;* XII, 26, 9 *rupta cum pes vagus exit aluta.* See § 26.

151. non una: 'more than one,' as in 6, 218; 8, 213 f.; 14, 284; Hor. *C.* IV, 9, 39 *consulque non unius anni;* Sen. *Med.* 751 (*Hecate*) *fronte non una minax.* **cicatrix**: see §§ 122, 127.

152. infelix paupertas: on such general statements, see § 37.

153. inquit: with indefinite subject also in 7, 242; 14, 153; so *ait* in 9, 63. Juvenal has a fashion of introducing a dramatic situation suddenly and without warning; cf. 1, 101.

154. equestri: at the theatre the seats nearest the stage (*orchestra*) were occupied by senators, and the next fourteen rows were set apart for the *equites* by the *Lex Roscia Theatralis* of 67 B.C. In order to retain equestrian privileges the *eques* must possess at least 400,000 sesterces; cf. 1, 106. Mart. V, 8 speaks of a rich freedman being ordered out of the *quattuordecim ordines.* See notes on 7, 14 and 11, 43.

156. lenonum: like *lanista* (l. 158), the lowest social type; cf. 6, 216; 6 A, 7 (p. 40). **quocumque**: see § 63. **fornice**: cf. 10, 239; 11, 173; Prud. *Hamart.* 636 *in fornice natos.*

157. praeconis: see note on l. 33.

158. pinnirapi: a kind of gladiator, mentioned only here; for other kinds, cf. 8, 199 ff.[3] **iuvenes**: i.e. *filios;* see § 53.

159. Othoni: L. Roscius Otho, the tribune, whose law is mentioned in l. 155 and 14, 324.

161. sarcinulis: *nunc doti* (schol.); cf. 6, 146 *collige sarcinulas,* to a

[1] Cited by the scholiast on this passage; cf. frag. 783 B.

[2] Preller-Jordan, I. l. II, p. 312.

[3] On the interpretation of *pinnirapus*, see M. Rostowzew, Mitth. d. arch. Inst., röm. Abth., XV, 1900, pp. 225 f.

wife being turned adrift. Elsewhere *sarcina* is used, e.g. Sen. *Rem. Fort.* 16, 7 (*uxor*) *cuius sarcinis domus non sit angusta:* see § 41, 1, *d.*

162. in consilio: the position of assistant or counsellor (*adsessor*) to the aediles, who among other functions acted as police magistrates, was most honorable, and apparently profitable as well. Higher magistrates had such assistants: cf. Cic. *Flacc.* 77 *praetor te...in consilium vocavit?* **agmine facto:** 'en masse'; the phrase is applied to diseases in 10, 218 and to the winds in Verg. *Aen.* 1, 82. See § 127.

163. debuerant: an exact parallel in construction is Tibull. (?) III, 6, 63 f. *iamdudum...debueram sertis implicuisse comas.* **olim:** see § 67, *b.* **tenues:** cf. 7, 80 *tenuique Saleio* and 8, 120 *tenues Afros.*

165. res angusta domi: the same phrase in 6, 357; see § 37. In prose we find *familiaris* instead of *domi*, e.g. Cic. *Phil.* XIII, 8 *res familiaris ampla;* Tac. *Ann.* XV, 55 *tenui iam re familiari.*

166. magno: see § 94. **hospitium:** 'a lodging,' as in l. 211 and 7, 70; cf. l. 225.

167. servorum ventres: 14, 126; Petron. 57 *viginti ventres pasco;* see note on l. 141. **frugi:** the origin of the indeclinable adjective is seen in the predicate dative of early Latin, e.g. Plaut. *Pseud.* 468 *tamen ero frugi bonae.* **cenula:** see § 41, 1, *b.*

169. Marsos ... Sabellam: types of rural simplicity; cf. Verg. *Geo.* II, 167 *Marsos pubemque Sabellam.* See notes on 10, 299 and 14, 180.

170. contentus: like *translatus*, = a protasis. **cucullo:** see § 43.

172. togam: at Rome this expensive and inconvenient dress must be worn on public occasions, e.g. at the circus and amphitheatre (11, 204 and note on 1, 96): but one of the charms of Pliny's Tuscan villa was *nulla necessitas togae* (*Ep.* V, 6, 45).

173. herboso ... theatro: it is scarcely possible that any Italian town of consequence was without a permanent theatre in the time of Juvenal; *herboso* then must refer to the grass growing between the seats. The larger theatres were open to the sky. See § 125, *e.*

174. redit: = *rediit*, as *abīt* (6, 128), *obīt* (6, 559) and *perīt* (6, 295, 563; 8, 85; 10, 118).[1]

175. personae: ugly masks with gaping mouths (*hiatus*) naturally terrify children and may have given rise to a proverb; cf. Novius, *Agr.* II (p. 308, Ribbeck[3]) *quia enim repuerascis* (become a child again), *fugitas personas, pater;* Sen. *Dial.* IV, 11, 2 *timetur a pluribus sicut deformis persona ab infantibus;* Mart. XIV, 176 *haec timet ora puer.* See Dict. of Antiq. s.v. *theatrum, persona, Atellana, Manducus.*

176. rusticus infans: the same verse ending recurs in 9, 60.

[1] L. Müller, *De Re Metr.*[2], p. 508.

178. orchestram: see note on l. 154. The municipal officials corresponding to Roman senators were the *decuriones*.

179. summis aedilibus: here as in *clari honoris* Juvenal betrays a vein of humor (see p. xx, note 1): cf. Hor. *Sat.* I, 5, 34 f. In some Italian towns *aedilis* was the highest magistrate; see note on 10, 101.[1]

180. ultra vires: 'beyond our means'; cf. Hor. *Epist.* I, 18, 22 *supra vires*.[2]

182. ambitiosa: 'fond of display,' 'ostentatious'; cf. Sen. *Ep.* 50, 3 '*non ego ambitiosus sum, sed nemo aliter Romae potest vivere. non ego sumptuosus sum, sed urbs ipsa magnas inpensas exigit.*' See § 131.

184. cum pretio: sc. *magno*. **quid das:** sc. *servis* (§ 70, *a*). After long delay (*aliquando*) you are admitted only when you have 'tipped' the slaves. **Cossum:** this cognomen of the *Cornelii Lentuli* became in the first century of the Empire a praenomen in the same family.[3] Cossus in 8, 21 is a noble, as here, and in 10, 202 a legacy-hunter. See § 24.

185. Veiento: a type of nobility as in 6, 113; see note on 4, 113. **respiciat:** Mart. X, 10, 5 *qui me respiciet, dominum regemque vocabo.* See note on 7, 3. **labello:** see § 41, I, *d*.

186. metit barbam: 'he is being shaved'; this is an excuse offered by the slave of whom the client seeks admittance at one house, *crinem hic deponit amati* is the reply at the next door he approaches on his round of calls. When the favorite young slave (*puer capillatus*, cf. 15, 137) grew to manhood, his long hair was cut for the first time amid festivities. This was based on the ancient Greek custom of dedicating to some god the first hair and beard cut from the youthful head.[4]

187. libis venalibus: in return for the cake offered in honor of the occasion, the slave expects a fee. See § 95. **accipe:** sc. *libum*; 'receive the cake and keep it to stir your wrath.'[5] **istud:** see § 61, *b*.

188. fermentum: literally the cause of fermentation, but here for the cause of fermentation's spiritual analogue, viz. anger. No other example of this use is cited. **tributa:** such as the tip to the doorkeeper (l. 184) and the fee to the waiter.

189. peculia: this a slave was allowed to acquire by industry and thrift; cf. Ter. *Phor.* 43 f. *quod ille unciatim . . . conpersit.*

[1] For details, see Kubitschek, Pauly-Wiss., I, 461; Ruggiero, I, p. 251.

[2] Ph. Thielmann, A.L.L. IV, p. 379, gives the history of this and similar expressions.

[3] *Pros. Imp. Rom.*, I, p. 452.

[4] F. Vollmer, Stat. *Silv.* p. 422.

[5] This explanation is still to be preferred to some more recent attempts. Spitzer (Wien. Stud., XIV, 1892, p. 131) takes the words *accipe . . . habe* as the reply of the client to the slave who offers the cake, i.e. 'Take (the money) and keep your cake.' This, however, is too abrupt even for Juvenal. See W. v. Christ, l. l. p. 122.

190–231. "In the towns of Italy no one fears that his house will fall: here most of the houses are ready to collapse. In case of fire the poor lodger in a tenement loses his little all and finds no sympathy, but the rich man receives so many gifts and offers of assistance that he is richer than before. A simple home in the country town, with its little garden, is not so expensive as a Roman lodging and is a source of constant satisfaction."

190. Praeneste: usually neuter, but here and Verg. *Aen.* VIII, 561, feminine. None of the towns here named is distant from Rome: Praeneste (Palestrina), Gabii, and Tibur (Tivoli) are in Latium, Volsinii in Etruria. Cf. 14, 87 f.; Hor. *C.* III, 4, 22 f. *frigidum Praeneste seu Tibur supinum.*

192. Gabiis: a common type of loneliness and desolation, e.g. 6, 56; 7, 4; see note on 10, 100; cf. Cic. *Planc.* 23. **proni:** the town on the slope is regarded by Horace from a different point of view: cf. *Tibur supinum* just quoted.

194. labentibus: with reference to the houses of the city.

196. pendente ... ruina: 11, 13 *casurus iam perlucente ruina.*

198. poscit aquam: 'cries Fire'; Dio Cass. LVII, 14, 10, *ὕδωρ αὐτῶν αἰτούντων.* **frivola:** see note on 5, 59.

199. Vcalegon: Verg. *Aen.* II, 311 *iam proximus ardet Vcalegon;* hence proverbial for nearest neighbor. **tabulata:** 10, 106 *turris tabulata.* At this time tenements were sometimes as high as six storeys.[1] **tibi:** see § 157.

200. trepidatur: confusion begins where the fire breaks out.

203. Procula: apparently a dwarf: see §§ 24, 57 *e*, and p. lxix.[2]

204. abaci: a metal table or marble slab (l. 205 *marmore*) for the display of silver. Codrus, however, has no silver. **nec non:** this connective, in which one negative neutralizes the other, is found as early as Varro, *R. R.* I, 1, 6; II, 1, 22. *Nec non et* occurs also in 9, 88; 10, 51, and commonly from the time of Vergil.[3] **infra:** see § 65.

205. Chiro: a reclining centaur could scarcely be the support of the *abacus;* it probably served either as a handle for the cover of the *cista* (Buecheler) or as a separate ornament (Friedl.).

207. divina opici: see note on 1, 71. *Ὀπικοί* was the name given by the Greeks to one of the early tribes of Campania, whose name (later *Osci*) and language gradually extended over a large part of southern Italy. Here as in 6, 455, the word means 'boorish,' 'barbarous,' 'uneducated.'

[1] Vitruv. II, 8, 17; Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverw.* II², p. 124, N. 3.

[2] W. O. Sproull (Class. Rev., XIV, 1900, p. 218) thinks that *sex urceoli* implies a family or six to be provided for.

[3] See examples in A.L.L. VIII, p. 181.

If the mice had known Greek, they would have had more respect for the *divina carmina*.

210. cumulus: Plin. *Ep.* II, 1, 6 *hic supremus felicitati eius cumulus accessit, laudator eloquentissimus.*

211. hospitio tectoque: a hendiadys and a climax : see note on l. 166.

212. Asturici: see § 24 and note on l. 221, *Persicus*.

213. pullati: cf. 10, 245 *nigra veste*. **differt vadimonia**: legal business is postponed as if a *iustitium* had been declared. At the death of a prominent person, this was done that people might attend the funeral. Cf. C.I.L. X, 3903 *vadimoniaque eius diei dif* [*ferantur*].

215. ardet: sc. *domus;* personal subject in l. 201; see note on l. 199.

216. inpensas: *inpensa* (sc. *pecunia*) usually refers to expense as in 5, 156 ; 7, 138 ; 12, 97 ; but in this connection it doubtless means building materials. Cf. Frontin. *Aqu.* 124 *futurae impensae praeparatio* (for repair of aqueducts) ; Pall. I, 39 (40), 5 *inpensam testaceam subterinduces*.

217. Euphranoris: both sculptor and painter, who practised his art at Athens about 340 B.C. **Polycliti**: the elder, the author of the famous Doryphorus, who lived about a century earlier than Euphranor and worked almost exclusively in bronze ; contrast *candida signa* of l. 216.

218. haec: a woman also appears among the contributors ; cf. l. 212 *horrida mater*.[1] **ornamenta deorum**: cf. Prud. *Symm.* II, 64 *frange repulsorum foeda ornamenta deorum*. All parts of the empire had been stripped of art treasures to adorn the palaces of the rich in Rome.

219. mediam: 'to stand in the middle,' as the presiding genius.[2]

220. modium: proverbial, like 'peck' in English (§ 143) : cf. Petron. 37 *nummos modio metitur*.[3] The meaning 'plate' for *argenti* (note on 10, 19) is in harmony with the context, but *modius* suggests money.

221. Persicus: like *Asturicus* (l. 212), a type of wealth ; see § 24. **orborum**: see note on l. 129. **lautissimus**: cf. 1, 67 and see § 57, *c*.

222. suspectus: 'suspected of having set fire,' etc. ; see § 112.

223. avelli circensibus: 'tear yourself away from the races': cf. 11, 53; Tac. *Dial.* 29 *propria et peculiaria huius urbis vitia...gladiatorum equorumque studia*. The sports of the circus, consisting chiefly of chariot races, aroused the greatest enthusiasm in the people, who, according to Juvenal (10, 81), desired nothing but *panem et circenses*. The

[1] *Haec*, the reading of *P*, supported by the schol., should be kept and understood as nominative singular. The substitution of *hic*, adopted by Jahn in 1851, advocated by Owen (Class Rev., XI, 1897, pp. 401-3), and at last receiving Ms. support in *Bodl.* (§ 33), seems unnecessary. The fact, too, that women in particular were devoted to oriental cults at Rome should not be overlooked.

[2] Lewis and Friedl. take *mediam* in the sense of *dimidiam*, 'a bust of Minerva.'

[3] Otto, *Sprichwörter*, p. 225.

Circus Maximus, which lay between the Aventine and Palatine, was the largest structure of the kind and had seats for a vast number of spectators.[1] On the circus, cf. 6, 87 ; 7, 114 ; 8, 118 ; 10, 36 f. ; 11, 197.

Sora, Fabrateria, and Frusino, small towns of Latium, were doubtless well known to Juvenal, as they were near to Aquinum; see § 12.

224. paratur: cf. 5, 56 ; 7, 66 ; 14, 140 ; Luc. IV, 374 *luxuries numquam parvo contenta paratis*, on which the scholiast comments 'i.e. *parvo emptis ; nam emere dicitur parare*.' *Parare* is here used for *comparare* (§ 44), which in colloquial Latin often means 'to purchase' ; cf. It. *comprare ;* Old Fr. *comperer ;* Span. Port. *comprar ;* see note on 5, 56.

225. tenebras: see § 129, *a* ; cf. l. 166 and Mart. II, 14, 12 *Grylli tenebras* (a dark bath). **conducis**: in contrast with *paratur* (l. 224).

226. hortulus: see § 41, 1, *a*. **hic**: local adverb.

227. diffunditur: in drawing from this spring no rope is required.[2]

228. bidentis amans: on the genitive with participles, see § 88.

229. Pythagoreis: the followers of Pythagoras were vegetarians, but ate no beans ; cf. 15, 173 f. and the playful allusion of Hor. *Sat.* II, 6, 63 *faba Pythagorae cognata*.

230. quocumque: on this indefinite use, see § 63.

231. lacertae: the point is that reptiles are numerous in Italy.[3]

232–267. "One of the chief causes of disease is loss of sleep, on account of the outrageous din in the streets at night. By day, too, while the rich are carried abroad in litters at their ease, the poor man is crowded and jostled on the pavement and in some cases is crushed to death by the collapse of a heavily loaded wagon. Meanwhile his household, busy with preparation, looks vainly for his return."

232. plurimus aeger: see §§ 49, *b* and 54. **vigilandŏ**: see § 157; the earliest examples of this sort are in Seneca.[4] **sed**: introduces a parenthesis (§ 76), which suggests that loss of sleep causes indigestion and indigestion saps one's powers; cf. Plin. *Ep.* VII, 27, 6 *vigiliam morbus et . . . mors sequebatur*.

233. inperfectus: see note on 1, 143 and cf. Celsus, IV, 23 *quidquid assumptum est, (intestina) imperfectum protinus reddunt*.

235. opibus: see § 94. **dormitur**: impersonal ; cf. 3, 290 ; 4, 65, 144 ; 7, 82. Juvenal probably remembered Mart. XII, 57, 3 f. *nec quiescendi in urbe locus est pauperi*, though the expression is different (§ 26).

[1] About 150,000 according to Chr. Hülsen, Bull. Com. Arch., 1894, p. 312.

[2] *Defunditur*, the reading of *P*, is defended by Owen, Class. Rev., XI, 1897, p. 403.

[3] Cf. Boswell's *Johnson*, Macmillan, 1900, II, p. 434.

[4] L. Müller, *De Re Metr.*[2], p. 417.

236. inde: see § 138, *b*. **raedarum**: see notes on 3, 10; 8, 157.

237. stantis: 'brought to a standstill.' **convicia**: the shouts of the drivers at the *mandra* and at one another.

238. Druso: typical for a sleepyhead (§ 24). The emperor Claudius (Ti. Claudius Drusus Caesar) frequently fell asleep at table and even in the law court,[1] but Juvenal calls him three times by his distinctive name,[2] and probably had no thought of him here. Note, also, the tense of *eripient* (§ 72, *c*). **vitulisque marinis**: *Odyss.* IV, 448 f. *αἱ μὲν* (sc. *φῶκαι*) *ἔπειτα ἐξῆς εὐνάζοντο παρὰ ῥηγμῖνι θαλάσσης*; Plin. *N. H.* IX, 42 *nullum animal graviore somno premitur.*

239. officium: especially the *salutatio*, which Pliny calls *officia antelucana* (*Ep.* III, 12, 2); see notes on l. 130; 1, 95; 7, 106; 10, 45. **turba cedente**: cf 4, 63 (*turba*) *cessit*.[3] **vehetur**: see § 72, *c*, (1).

240. Liburna: sc. *lectica*; why it was so called is not clear. Friedl. thinks that it was shaped like a Liburnian ship.

242. facit somnum: cf. l. 282. **lectica**: see note on 1, 120. **clausa**: probably as in 1, 124, by curtains; but cf. 4, 21.

243. tamen: although he does not exert himself. **veniet**: i.e. *perveniet*; see § 44.

244. unda: of a crowd in Verg. *Geo.* II, 462 and elsewhere; cf. English metaphors, e.g. 'stream,' 'surge' (§ 127). **premit**: so in 1, 46.

245. assere: probably a litter pole, as in 7, 132; cf. Suet. *Cal.* 58 *lecticarii cum asseribus in auxilium accucurrerunt.*

248. clavus . . . militis: Augustin. *I Epist. Ioh. Tract.* 10, 8 *caligis clavatis contereret pedes tuos*; see note on l. 322 and cf. 16, 24 f.

249. sportula: a kind of picnic-dinner, to which each brought his own provisions. The *culina* would probably include chafing-dishes and a portable stove.[4] For the common use, see § 41, 1, *e* and note on 1, 95.

251. Corbulo: typical name for a man of strength (§ 24). Cn. Domitius Corbulo, a military commander under Claudius and Nero, is described by Tacitus (*Ann.* XIII, 8) as *corpore ingens.*

253. servulus: on the form, see § 41, 1, *b*.

254. scinduntur tunicae: so in a crowd pressing to hear Pliny there was *adulescens scissis tunicis, ut in frequentia solet fieri* (*Ep.* IV, 16, 2).

255. serraco: materials for public works might pass through the streets by day, but ordinary traffic was restricted; see note on l. 10.

256. plaustra: on the use of plural for singular, see § 48.

[1] Suet. *Claud.* 8 and 33.

[2] 5, 147; 6, 115; 14, 330.

[3] See F. Cramer, A.L.L. VI, p. 375.

[4] This is the view of Wissowa and Friedländer. No other instance of *sportula* in this sense is known to me; Suet. *Claud.* 21, which has been quoted, is not parallel.

257. saxa Ligustica: marble from the quarries of Luna, which was originally in Liguria, but after the definition of boundaries under Augustus was in Etruria. It was a white marble and was extensively used in Rome: cf. Stat. *Silv.* IV, 3, 99 (*arcus*) *totis Ligurum nitens metallis.* Martial also mentions such obstructions in the streets, V, 22, 8 *trahi multo marmora fune vides.* See § 123.

259. de corporibus: for the construction, see § 97, *d.*[1]

260. perit: 'vanishes'; there is not enough left to pick up.

261. domus: i.e. *familia*; see note on l. 10.

263. striglibus: these, with *lintea* and *gutus*, are the requisites for a bath to precede the dinner; see note on 11, 206 and § 157.

265. in ripa: i.e. in the infernal world.

266. porthmea: in Eurip. *Alc.* 253 Charon is νεκύων δὲ πορθμεύς, in Verg. *Aen.* VI, 298 f. *portitor horrendus...terribili squalore*, in Tibull. I, 10, 36 *Stygiae navita turpis aquae*, in Prop. V, 17, 24 (Mueller) *torvus senex.* **caenosi gurgitis**: Verg. *Aen.* VI, 296 f. *turbidus hic caeno vastaque voragine gurges aestuat.* See § 18. **alnum**: see § 129, *c.*

267. trientem: the Greek custom—first mentioned in Aristoph. *Ran.* 140, 270—of placing a coin (obol) between the teeth of the dead to pay his fare over the river, is rarely mentioned in Roman literature. It must have been imported into Italy at a very early period, for skeletons with coins fixed between the teeth have been found at Praeneste in graves which date from about 300 B.C.[2]

268–314. "If you go out at night, you are likely to be struck on the head by broken crockery or to be drenched by dirty water thrown from the windows. Or you fall in with a drunken rowdy who is anxious for a fight and insists on pounding you. Moreover, the city so swarms with footpads that one prison is no longer sufficient."

268. respice: on forms of transition, see § 140, *a.*

269. quod spatium: sc. *sit*; on ellipsis of the copula, see § 138, *a.* On the height of houses, see note on l. 199.

270. testa: 'tile,' for the usual *tegula*; so Cic. *Dom.* 61 *testis tectorum meorum.* A striking parallel is Lucian, *Char.* 6 ἐπὶ δεῖπνον, οἶμαι, κληθεὶς ...ἦξω, ἔφη, καὶ μεταξὺ λέγοντος ἀπὸ τοῦ τέγους κεραμὶς ἐμπεσοῦσα...ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτόν. Cf. also Epictetus, *Diss.* II, 6, 18 and IV, 7, 27, who in-

[1] The reading of *P* is *e*, corrected by later hands. This must be rejected on the ground that Juvenal uses *ex*, not *e*, except in a few stereotyped phrases (see Buech., in Friedl.), and that the preposition which he employs with the ablative as a substitute for the partitive genitive is *de*, not *ex* (except with *quidam* in 2, 36 and 6, 451).

[2] Prop. V, 11, 7; Apul. *Met.* VI, 18; C.I.L. I, pp. 27 f.; Pauly-Wiss., III, 349.

cludes *κεραμίς* among destructive agencies, like sword, fire, sea, tyrant, soldier.[1] **fenestris**: on the omission of the preposition, see § 96.

273. ad cenam si: for the effect of this verse ending, see § 152.

274. intestatus: the word is discussed in note on 1, 144.

275. vigiles . . . fenestrae: i.e. *vigilum fenestrae*; see § 130.

277. contentae: with *fenestrae* understood from l. 275; see § 117.

279. dat poenas: the passage is explained by *Iliad.* XXIV, 10 f. *ἄλλοτ' ἐπὶ πλευρὰς κατακείμενος, ἄλλοτε δ' αὖτε ὕπτιος, ἄλλοτε δὲ πρηνής, τοτὲ δ' ὀρθὸς ἀναστάς*; Sen. *Dial.* IX, 2, 12 *qualis ille Homericus Achilles est, modo pronus, modo supinus, in varios habitus se ipse conponens.* Seneca's *pronus* is Juvenal's *in faciem.* The only point of likeness to Achilles is the ruffian's restlessness, and the general incongruity of the comparison makes it humorous. See p. xx, note 1 and § 128.

281. ergō: for quantity of final vowel, see note on 1, 3 and § 157.

282. somnum . . . facit: cf. l. 242. **quamvis**: see § 114, *b*.

283. coccina: *laena* marks the dandy and this color was expensive.[2]

284. comitum: 'clients'; see note on 1, 46.

285. lampas: the streets of Rome, though sometimes illuminated on special occasions, were not systematically lighted. See §§ 46, *a* and 49, *a*.

288. prohoemia: 'the preliminaries.'[3]

289. pulsas . . . vapulo: Ter. *Ad.* 213 *ego vapulando, ille verberando, usque ambo defessi sumus* (schol.); cf. Plaut. *Stich.* 606 *scis quam efflictentur homines noctu hic in via.*[4]

290. stat contra: metaphorically in Pers. 5, 96 *stat contra ratio* and in Mart. 1, 53, 12 *stat contra dicitque tibi tua pagina 'fur es'* (§ 26). **stari**: impersonal; see note on l. 235 (*dormitur*).

292. aceto: possibly *posca*, a mixture of vinegar and water, the usual drink of the common people as of the soldier.

293. conche: see note on 14, 131. **sectile**: in 14, 133 *sectivum*; Mart. III, 47, 8 speaks of two kinds, the other being called *capitatum.*

296. ede: so l. 74 and 1, 21. **consistas**: i.e. as a beggar; see note on l. 14. **quaero**: for the mood, see § 71, *a*.

298. tantumdem: = *idem*; cf. *Digest.* XXVI, 7, 3, § 1 *tantundem praetor facit.* The desire for sharp and clear-cut expression sometimes led to the substitution of the quantitative for the merely qualitative; so *totidem* = *eadem* in Catull. 92, 3 and Hor. *Sat.* II, 3, 298.[5] See § 108, *a*.

[1] See B. L. Gildersleeve, Johns Hopkins Univ. Circulars, No. 29, 1884, p. 51.

[2] See Jahn and Gildersleeve, notes on Pers. 1, 32; Plin. *N. H.* XXXVII, 204.

[3] The spelling *prohoemium* has better Ms. authority in Latin than *prooemium.* The justification of the form lies in the aspirated *οἶμος* implied in *φροίμια* (*προοίμια*); cf. *φροῦδος* from *πρό-ὁδος* (Buech. in Friedl.).

[4] Cf. Luc. VII, 533; Sil. XVI, 71.

[5] A. Sonny, A.L.L. XI, p. 132.

301. paucis: 'a few'; the word is strongly emphatic.

302. nec . . . metuas: on the use of *nec* for *ne*, see § 77.

303. derit: like *derat* and *desset*, always dissyllabic in Juvenal; cf. 2, 168; 4, 72; 7, 69; 9, 112, 130; 16, 18.

304. tabernae: the whole front of a shop in Rome, as in Pompeii, was usually open in day time and closed by heavy shutters at night. When these and the houses are shut up, the streets are dark and lonely.

305. ferro . . . grassator agit: cf. 14, 174. **subitus**: cf. 4, 133.

306. custode: on the absence of preposition, see § 93; see also § 49, *a*.

307. Pomptina: the Pontine Marsh, covering more than two hundred square miles in southern Latium, was intersected by a canal (Hor. *Sat.* 1, 5) but not drained. **Gallinaria**: a forest on the coast of Campania, extending northward from Cumae to the river Vulturnus. Naturally both of these places were infested with robbers.

308. sic . . . tamquam: 'just as if'; so 6, 431. **vivaria**: in 4, 51 'private preserve,' but here transferred in a very natural way. Rome is where men of this class are fattened.

309. non: with both clauses; *nec* is more often thus omitted.

311. vomer: connected with *marrae* and *sarcula* also in 15, **166 f.**

314. uno . . . carcere: the so called *carcer Mamertinus*, built by Ancus Martius *inminens foro* (Liv. 1, 33, 8), in which the accomplices of Catilina were executed and Jugurtha met his awful end. It is likely that in Juvenal's time the barracks in different parts of the city had accommodations for civil as well as for military prisoners: cf. 6, 561.[1]

315–322. "But it is time to go. So good-bye: and whenever you seek rest at Aquinum, I will visit you and hear your satires."

315. poteram: 'could' (but do not); see G.-L. § 254, R. 2; Lane, § 1497. **causas**: i.e. for departure.

317. mulio: a dactyl here as in 8, 148; see § 157.

318. adnuit: as a hint that time is passing; cf. 8, 153 *virga prior annuet*, which refers to a driver's salute.

319. tuo . . . Aquino: Juvenal's native town on the *via Latina* in the S. E. of Latium; see § 12. On the worship of Ceres there, see § 7.

320. Helvinam: a member of the *gens Helvia* may have built this temple.[2] **Dianam**: mentioned in connection with Ceres also in C.I.L. III, 7260.[3] She must have been worshiped at Aquinum.

[1] See Pauly-Wiss., III, 1579, 1581 f.

[2] See C.I.L. X, 5382; ib. index, p. 1039.

[3] Cf. C.I. Gr. 1449.

321. ni pudet illas : sc. *tam rustici auditoris.*

322. auditor : cf. I, 1.[1] **caligatus :** 'with my heavy boots on,' as part of the rough costume suitable for the country.[2]

SATIRE IV

THE IMPERIAL COUNCIL

It is difficult to believe that the parts of which this satire is composed were originally intended by the author to form one harmonious whole ; for harmonious in any strict sense they certainly are not. The first part (ll. 1–27), which looks like a portion of a satire levelled at the upstart Egyptian, and the last part (ll. 37–154), which describes the assembly and proceedings of the imperial council, are joined in the loosest fashion by lines 28–36.[3] But whatever may have been the original intention, we are not justified in assuming that any other hand than that of the author arranged the satire as it stands. For similar lack of harmony in structure, see *Satires* I, 7, and II.

Whether Domitian really did summon his advisers to plan for the disposal of a fish may be doubted, notwithstanding Juvenal's assertion (l. 35 *res vera agitur*), though it is not inherently improbable. It seems more likely that the present satire is a burlesque account of some meeting held at Domitian's Alban villa, such as that which took place before the war with the Chatti, 83 A.D. (cf. l. 147),[4] a meeting described, of course in serious vein, by Statius in his *De Bello Germanico*, of which the scholiast (Valla) on l. 94 quotes the following verses :

> lumina Nestorei mitis prudentia Crispi
> et Fabius Veiento—potentem signat utrumque
> purpura, ter memores implerunt nomine fastos—
> et prope Caesareae confinis Acilius aulae.[5]

[1] *Auditor*, which was probably the reading of *P*, though given up by Buech. (1893), has since been defended by Polstorff (1896) and Duff (1898), and is now read by Owen (1902). It is certainly not *lectio difficilior*, but makes far better sense than *adiutor* ($p\omega$); for, as Polstorff remarks, *non adiutorem optant poetae, sed auditorem.*

[2] There is here no reference to the soldier's boot (note on l. 248), for *caligae* were worn also by countrymen and even by women; cf. *Edict. Dioclet.* IX, 5a, 6, 10 with Blümner's note (p. 126) and see W. v. Christ, l. l. p. 142.

[3] For a different view, see A. Gercke, Gött. gel. Anz., 1896, pp. 981 ff.

[4] On July 22d, 82 A.D., Domitian held a meeting *adhibitis utriusque ordinis splendidis viris* (C.I.L. IX, 5420).

[5] Fabricius Veiento (note on l. 113) is called Fabius, doubtless to mark him as a man of caution and forethought like Fabius Cunctator, the great opponent of Hannibal. See F. Buecheler, Rhein. Mus., XXXIX, 1884, pp. 283 f. and S. Gsell, *Essai sur le règne de l'empereur Domitien*, 1893, p. 61, note 6.

1–27. Crispinus is again the subject of my satire and must often be, because of his unspeakable crimes. At present, however, I speak of something less serious. He bought a mullet at an outrageous price and for his own use. For the same sum the upstart might have bought a farm.

1. Crispinus: see § 19 and note on l. 108. The former attack is not preserved, for it can scarcely be the mere mention in I, 26 f. See § 11.[1]

2. ad partes: a metaphor from the stage; see § 127. **virtute redemptum**: Sen. *Nat. Quaest.* I, 17, 4 *redimendum esse virtutibus quicquid corpori deesset.*

3. solaque libidine fortes: 6 A, 25 (p. 41) *hic erit in lecto fortissimus;* cf. Shakespeare, *Coriolanus,* III, 1 'Their mutinies and revolts, wherein they showed Most valor, spoke not for them.'

4. deliciae: 'a ladies' man'; cf. 6, 47; see § 129, *a* and note on 10, 291. **viduas**: 'unmarried women.' To Crispinus none but forbidden and carefully guarded fruits are sweet; cf. Aesch. *Suppl.* 1009 *τέρειν' ὀπώρα δ' εὐφύλακτος οὐδαμῶς.* **spernatur**: i.e. *aspernatur;* see § 44.

6. porticibus: covered colonnades in which the rich might take the air without exposure to the weather; cf. 7, 178 ff.

7. vicina foro: naturally the most expensive real estate in Rome.

9. incestus: Isid. *Orig.* V, 26, 24 *qui enim talibus* (i.e. the Vestals) *commiscentur, incesti, id est incasti habentur.* **cum quo**: = *quocum* (not in Juvenal); cf. l. 87; 10, 235; 13, 155. **vittata**: the *vittae* were the badge of the sacred office; cf. Ovid, *Fast.* VI, 457 f. *nullaque dicetur vittas temerasse sacerdos hoc duce, nec viva defodietur humo.*

10. terram subitura: the Vestal Cornelia was buried alive for unchastity by Domitian in 91 A.D. But Juvenal does not refer to this; he seems merely to be retailing town gossip.[2] The participle indicates no more than the natural consequence of the act if it were proved; see § 118, *d.*

11. levioribus: explained by l. 15. For the ellipsis, see § 138, *b.*

12. fecisset: the technical term 'Guilty' was *feci,* as in 6, 638; cf. 6, 456 and 14, 185. **caderet**: 'would stand convicted,' also technical; cf. 10, 69 *cecidit sub crimine.* For the tense, see § 72, *a* (2). **iudice morum**: Domitian's perpetual censorship, which is much praised by Martial and Statius and referred to by Juvenal (2, 30, 63, 121), was begun late in the year 85.[3]

13. Titio Seioque: typical names for ordinary people; see note on 8,

[1] Cf. Buecheler, *Carm. Epig.* 1552, *B,* 3 *Ecce Secundus adest iterum.*

[2] Stat. *Silv.* I, 1, 36; Gsell, l. l. pp. 80 ff.

[3] In a military diploma of the year 86 he is called *censor perpetuus,* a title which no other emperor assumed; see Gsell, l. l. p. 54, note 6, and Ruggiero, II, p. 161.

95. In the jurists they are often so used, e.g. Gaius, 1, 149 *Lucium Titium liberis meis tutorem do lego.* **turpe . . . decebat:** cf. 8, 182.

14. quid agas: cf. 3, 291. **omni:** i.e. *ullo;* see § 59, *a.*

15. persona: see note on 3, 175, where the word has its classical meaning. **sex milibus:** i.e. sesterces, or nearly $260. This fish (cf. 5, 92; 6, 40; 11, 37) as a rule weighed no more than two pounds (Plin. *N. H.* IX, 64) and sometimes brought an enormous price; cf. Suet. *Tib.* 34 *tresque mullos triginta milibus nummum venisse* (had been sold) *graviter conquestus.* Cf. Diphilus, fr. 33 (Kock) *γόγγρον μέν, ὥσπερ ὁ Πρίαμος τὸν Ἕκτορα, ὅσον εἵλκυσεν, τοσοῦτο καταθεὶς ἐπριάμην.*

18. artificis: i.e. in the art of legacy-hunting; see note on 3, 129.

19. praecipuam . . . ceram: see note on 1, 63. Usually *prima cera* is the first page, where the chief heir is named; cf. Hor. *Sat.* II, 5, 53 f.

20. ratio ulterior: 'a further motive.' **magnae:** see note on 1, 33.

21. cluso: see note on 3, 242. **specularibus:** the use of glass was known before Juvenal's time, as remains at Pompeii show, but was not very common. The usual substitute was *lapis specularis* (mica), which is probably meant here.[1] **antro:** a large cool *lectica* (note on 1, 120); cf. Claud. *Nupt. Honor.* 151 f. *hoc navigat antro fulta Venus.*

23. miser et frugi: in comparison with Crispinus. **Apicius:** M. Gavius Apicius, whom Pliny (*N. H.* X, 133) calls *nepotum omnium altissimus gurges,* was a man of great wealth and greater prodigality in the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius. His name became proverbial for a gourmand; cf. 11, 3 and Sen. *Ep.* 120, 19 (quoted in note on 1, 24). Juvenal probably refers to the competition of Apicius and P. Octavius in bidding for a mullet. Octavius secured it for 5000 sesterces (Sen. *Ep.* 95, 42).

24. succinctus: cf. 8, 162. **patria . . . papyro:** this plant, from whose stalk was made the usual writing material in antiquity, grew most extensively in Egypt, the birthplace of Crispinus (1, 26; § 19). Cf. Plin. *N. H.* XIII, 72 *texunt e libro* (sc. *papyri*) *vela tegetesque nec non et vestem.*

25. squamae: sc. *emptae sunt;* see § 138, *b.*[2]

27. sed: not adversative; see § 76. **Apulia** was largely given up to pasturage, so that land was especially cheap; cf. 9, 54 f.; Petron. 77. It was very sparsely settled; cf. Cic. *Att.* VIII, 3, 4 *inanissima pars Italiae* and Sen. *Ep.* 87, 7 *in desertis Apuliae.*[3]

[1] H. Blümner, *Gewerbe u. Künste,* IV, p. 402.

[2] The old reading *squamam* (schol.) is now advocated by W. v. Christ, l. l. p. 150.

[3] To explain *maiores* a definite measure may be inferred from what precedes, for *libra* (l. 15) was not only a weight but also a unit of land measurement: see Hultsch, *Metrol.,* p. 692. W. v. Christ (l. l. pp. 143 f.), therefore, interprets: 'Crispinus bought a mullet of six *librae* (pounds) for 6000 sesterces; in the provinces you can buy farms at that rate,

28–36. If the extravagance of the ignoble favorite is so outrageous, what must be that of the emperor himself. Come, Muses, you must tell the story.

28. putamus: for the mood, see § 71, *α*.

29. induperatorem: archaic for *imperatorem*; see § 42. The early forms *endo* and *indu* were replaced by the classical *in*, leaving few traces behind; cf. *indigeo, indigena, indoles, ἔνδοθεν*.

30. de margine: the mullet was a mere side-dish, not the *caput cenae*.

31. purpureus: in 1, 27 Crispinus wears *Tyrias lacernas*. **scurra**: originally 'a dandy,' but early transferred to mean 'a clown,' 'a buffoon'; here, of course, not to be taken literally. **Palati**: see § 38.

32. princeps equitum: not strictly an official title, but probably equivalent to *praefectus praetorio*. If so, Crispinus and Cornelius Fuscus were colleagues in that office under Domitian,[1] and they are the only two who were not senators in the council described below. See note on 1, 27.

33. municipes: *eiusdem municipii, unde ipse, Aegyptios* (schol.); cf. 14, 271; Mart. x, 87, 10; see § 47, *b*. **fracta de merce**: i.e. Crispinus used to sell spoiled fish, either as auctioneer (*praeco*)[2] or as a common street hawker.[3] **siluros**: 14, 132; Plin. *N. H.* IX, 44 (*fit*) *silurus in Nilo*.

34. Calliope: the invocation of the Muse of epic poetry and the mock-heroic tone produce the effect of a burlesque; cf. Hor. *Sat.* 1, 5, 53. **considere**: the standing posture was usual for the reciting poet, but in this case the permission to be seated may apply to the listener as well as to the Muse; cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 5, 3 ff. and Theoc. 1, 12 f. and 21 f.[4]

35. cantandum: poetry is contrasted with history.

36. puellas: youth is emphasized, for *puella* means young matron as well as maid; cf. 6, 191; Ovid, *Her.* 1, 115 (Penelope).

37–75. In the days of Domitian a huge turbot was caught in the Adriatic. The fisherman hastens to the Alban villa and with flattering words offers his gift to the emperor. But there was no dish large enough for the monster; therefore, the imperial council was at once convoked.

six *librae* (i.e. *iugera*) for 6000 sesterces, and in Apulia more than six *librae* for the same money.' The fact that land in Attica was worth about the price thus assigned to farms in Juvenal's *provincia* (Boeckh, *Staatshaushaltung d. Athener*, 1, p. 89) lends support to this suggestion. The question, however, is whether Juvenal did not mean simply that land was cheaper in Apulia than elsewhere.

[1] Borghesi, *Œuvres*, v, pp. 514 ff; x, pp. 28 ff.

[2] Buecheler, Rhein. Mus., xxxv, 1880, p. 392.

[3] *Municipes* forbids the thought of Crispinus' former life in Egypt.

[4] W. v. Christ, l. l. pp. 127 f.

37. semianimum: scanned as quadrisyllable.

38. ultimus: the first emperor of the *gens Flavia* was Vespasian, who was succeeded in turn by his two sons, Titus and Domitian. **calvo ... Neroni**: Suet. 18 says that Domitian grew bald while still young and that he was sensitive on that point. *Nero* suggests likeness to his infamous predecessor; cf. Plin. *Paneg.* 53.

39. spatium admirabile rhombi: Ovid, *Hal.* 125 *Hadriaco mirandus litore rhombus.* For the form of expression, see § 52.

40. Ancon: now Ancona, founded about 390 B.C. by Greeks from Syracuse (hence *Dorica*). The worship of Aphrodite here is attested not only by Juvenal and Catullus (36, 13), but by coins of Ancona which bear the head of the goddess.[1]

41. sinus: sc. *retis.* **nec enim**: see § 73.

42. Maeotica: the Sea of Azov (*palus Maeotica*) abounded in fish, which, according to Juvenal, grew fat and sluggish under the ice. In springtime they swam in shoals through the Euxine into the Propontis; cf. Plin. *N. H.* IX, 50 f.

43. solibus: the plural is poetic in the classical period; cf. Lucr. VI, 1093 (*terra*) *solibus icta.*

45. lini: as in 5, 102, the net; see § 129, *c.*

46. summo: i.e. *maximo.* The title *pontifex maximus* was assumed by Augustus and thereafter regularly by his successors. Cf. other names (ironical) in ll. 29, 65, 145.

48. delatore: see §§ 49, *b;* 95 and note on 1, 33. **forent**: see § 69, *c.*

50. dubitaturi: equivalent to a second apodosis; see § 118, *d.*

51. vivaria: see note on 3, 308.

53. Palfurio: Palfurius Sura was an eminent orator and poet, and a *delator* under Domitian (schol.); cf. Suet. *Dom.* 13.[2] **Armillato**: unknown. See §§ 24, 50, and on the rhythm, § 152.

56. pereat: for the meaning, see note on 1, 18.

57. autumno: the unwholesome season began with the decay of vegetable matter in August; cf. 10, 221 and Hor. *C.* II, 14, 15 f. *frustra per autumnos nocentem corporibus metuemus austrum.* **quartanam**: sc. *febrim.* This was not dangerous (Celsus, III, 15), and after the deadly fevers of the autumn was regarded as a sign of convalescence; cf. Cic. *Fam.* XVI, 11, 1 *quoniam in quartanam conversa vis est morbi, spero te ... firmiorem fore.*

58. deformis: Hor. *C.* II, 10, 15 *informis hiemes;* observe the prefix.

[1] Mommsen, *Röm. Münzwesen*, p. 209.

[2] The name *M. Palfuri Surae*, preserved on an amphora at Trieste (C.I.L. V, 8112, 64), probably refers to the same person.

59. auster: the sirocco would quickly taint the fish; cf. Hor. quoted on l. 57.

60. diruta: see § 113, *b*. Alba Longa, which was older than Rome itself, was destroyed at a very early date. Here a fire, supposed to have been brought from Troy, was kept burning, though considered of less importance (*minorem*) than that of Vesta in Rome. Near by was the villa (*Albanum*; cf. l. 145) where Domitian spent most of his time.

62. miratrix turba: on nouns in *-trix* as adjectives, see § 47, *a*.

63. cessit: sc. *turba*; see note on 3, 239.

64. exclusi: Stat. *Th.* I, 424 *exclusaeque expectant praemia matres.*

65. itur: see note on 3, 235 (*dormitur*). **Atriden**: see § 51 and note on l. 46.

66. privatis: see note on 1, 16. **maiora focis**: see § 57, *e*.

67. iste: = *hic;* see § 61, *b*. **laxare**: 'to distend.'

68. saecula: 'reign,' as often in this period. On the plural, see § 48.

69. ipse capi voluit: cf. Mart. VIII, 78, 11 *implere sinus securos gaudet* (*avis*); Ovid, *Fast.* IV, 269 *ipsa peti volui* and Claud. *Stil.* III, 342 *ultro se voluere capi.*

70. surgebant cristae: the metaphor (§ 127) is obviously from the habits of fowl. So we might say 'he began to be in high feather'; Mayor compares Eng. 'crest-fallen.'

71. dis: i.e. *deorum potestati;* see § 57, *d*. On the concrete use of *potestas*, which Juvenal here nearly approaches, see note on 10, 100.

72. derat: see note on 3, 303. **patinae**: Mart. XIII, 81 *quamvis lata gerat patella rhombum, rhombus latior est tamen patella;* see § 26.

73. proceres: according to a custom begun by Augustus, men of prominence, chiefly senators (note on l. 32), were chosen by the emperor as a kind of cabinet. Technically they were called *amici Caesaris* (note on l. 84) and should not be confounded with the *patres* of l. 64. **ille**: the emperor.

74. magnae: see note on 1, 33 *magni amici.*

75–118. In answer to the summons came Pegasus the prefect of the city, gentle old Crispus, Acilius and his ill-starred son, Rubrius, fat Montanus, the fop Crispinus, the informer Pompeius, unfortunate Fuscus, wise Veiento, and blind Catullus.

75. Liburno: either the servant (*ab admissione*) who had charge of the reception and introduction of callers (so the schol.), or the messenger who gave the summons to the council.

76. abolla: see note on 3, 115.

77. Pegasus: a famous jurisconsult, who became governor of several

provinces and finally *praefectus urbi* (schol.). **vilicus**: Cic. *Planc.* 62 *magistratus quasi reipublicae vilicos*; see § 127. The subserviency of the *praefectus* to the imperial will is suggested by the use of this word; see note on 13, 157 *custos urbis*.

78. anne: see § 98, *b*. **aliud**: sc. *quam vilici*; see § 138, *a*.

80. temporibus diris: the terrible reign of Domitian; cf. *attonitae* in l. 77 and *attonitos* in l. 146. The same words in 10, 15 refer to the reign of Nero. See § 113, *b*. **inermi**: i.e. lacking in severity.

81. Crispi . . . senectus: see § 52. Q. Vibius Crispus of Vercellae, consul suffectus in the reign of Nero, stood high at court under Vespasian and Domitian. According to Statius (quoted on p. 44), he was three times consul.[1] **iucunda**: Quintil. x, 1, 119 *Crispus . . . iucundus et delectationi natus*; see Peterson's note.

82. mite: cf. Statius (l. l.) *Nestorei mitis prudentia Crispi*.

84. comes: strictly speaking, *comes* and *amicus* were not interchangeable terms; *comites* were chosen from among the *amici* (note on l. 73) for each expedition.[2] **clade et peste**: dead emperors were often called by such names, e.g. Lamprid. *Elegab.* 34, 1 *haec clades* (the emperor); cf. Cic. *Sest.* 33 *illa furia ac peste patriae*.[3]

85. liceret: 'had been permissible'; for the tense, see § 72, *a*, (2).

87. cum quo: connect with *locuturi*; see note on l. 9. **pluviis**: it was dangerous to talk of even the most harmless topics. On the rhythm, see § 152.

88. locuturi: see § 118, *a*. **amici**: see notes on ll. 73 and 84.

89. derexit bracchia: literally in Val. Fl. iv, 262 f. *vix tollere passus bracchia torrenti*.

91. inpendere: Luc. ii, 382 f. *patriaeque inpendere vitam nec sibi*.

92. octogensima: as Crispus was dead before the publication of Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria* (about 93; cf. x, 1, 119), he must have been born as early as 13 A.D.

94. Acilius: this Acilius Glabrio is not elsewhere mentioned; Statius (l. l.) probably means the son.

95. iuvene: see § 53. M'. Acilius Glabrio, son of the preceding, consul in 91 with M. Ulpius Traianus, was banished and put to death in 95 on a charge of conspiracy.[4]

96. olim: for the meaning, see § 67, *b*.

97. prodigio . . . senectus: in almost every reign from Tiberius to Domitian the zeal of informers (note on 1, 33) and the envy or caprice of the monarch had swept away great numbers of the rich and noble.

[1] See *Pros. Imp. Rom.*, III, p. 420.
[2] See Ruggiero and Pauly-Wiss., s. vv.
[3] See E. Klebs in Friedl., p. 606.
[4] Suet. *Dom.* 10; Dio, LXVII, 14, 3.

98. fraterculus . . . gigantis: usually taken as equivalent to *filius terrae* (a person of low origin), because the *gigantes* were sons of earth ; cf. Pers. 6, 59 f. But this does not explain *fraterculus* and the contrast between the diminutive and *gigas*. Juvenal wished to emphasize the perilous position of the noble, which is even more perilous than that of the giant's little brother. Friedl. sees in this an allusion to some tale in which a giant abused his little brother.[1]

99. ergŏ: see § 157 and note on 1, 3.

100. figebat: see note on 1, 23. **Numidas:** see § 47, *b*.

101. venator: Acilius must have entered the *venatio* (note on 1, 22) in the games held at Domitian's Alban villa. But even his apparent interest in such pursuits could not disarm the jealousy which his noble birth aroused in the breast of the tyrant.

102. patricias: see note on 1, 24. **miratur:** see § 136, *a*.

103. Brute: an allusion to the simulated idiocy by which L. Iunius Brutus allayed the suspicions of the king, Tarquinius Superbus (Liv. 1, 56, 7 ff.). **barbato:** i.e. *antiquo*. The early Romans wore hair and beard unshorn until about 300 B.C., when barbers were introduced from Sicily (Varro, *R. R.* II, 11, 10) ; cf. 5, 30 ; 16, 31, and Hor. *C.* 1, 12, 41 *intonsis Curium capillis*. In the time of Cicero, and probably in that of Juvenal as well, men usually wore beards until they were about forty years of age ; cf. 6, 105, 215.

104. melior vultu: cf. l. 75 *pallor*, l. 97, and 9, 12 *vultus gravis*.

105. Rubrius: probably Rubrius Gallus, who had held important military commands under Nero, Otho, and Vespasian.[2]

106. cinaedo: the natural object rather than the author of satire. Juvenal wishes to suggest that Rubrius is himself a *cinaedus*.

107. Montani: not with certainty identified ; cf. ll. 136 ff. and on the construction of *Montani venter*, see § 52.[3]

108. matutino: cf. 6, 523 and see § 55. **Crispinus:** see note on l. 1. This comparatively mild criticism of his extravagance is less than we should expect in view of ll. 1 ff.: but see Introd. to this satire.

109. redolent: Minutius Fundanus on the death of his daughter directed that the amount which he would have spent on her trousseau *in tus et unguenta et odores inpenderetur* (Plin. *Ep.* v. 16, 7). **funera:** 'corpses,' as in 10, 259 ; cf. 1, 146 ; 10, 241. This poetic use is seen also in Vergil, Horace, Propertius, and Valerius Flaccus.

[1] K. Zacher, Philologus, LVI, 1897, pp. 555 f., identifies the giant with a charioteer named Porphyrio, whom Martial, XIII, 78, calls *gigas*.

[2] The latter part of this verse may point to an intrigue, perhaps with the wife of Domitian (gloss *p*).

[3] On the use of *venter* and *abdomen*, see A.L.L. IV, p. 103.

110. Pompeius: not identified, but the context shows that he was a *delator;* see note on 1, 33. **aperire**: see § 117.

112. Fuscus: Cornelius Fuscus, who had been honored by Vespasian for military services, became *praefectus praetorio* under Domitian. Placed in supreme command against the Dacians in 86, he won some minor successes, but was soon defeated and killed. Martial composed his epitaph (VI, 76).[1] **villa**: on the ablative without *in*, see § 91.

113. Veiento: A. Didius Gallus Fabricius Veiento[2] was praetor under Nero, consul three times, and filled various other high positions. He was living as late as the reign of Nerva, with whom he dined on one occasion.[3] Cf. ll. 123–9 and see note on 3, 185. **Catullo**: L. Valerius Catullus Messalinus,[4] consul in 73 A.D., was notorious as an informer (note on 1, 33) in the reign of Domitian, and died not long after 93. Pliny, *Ep.* IV, 22, 5, says that he was blind; cf. ll. 114, 116, and 120.

116. a ponte satelles: 'a beggar-minion'; cf. 14, 134 *aliquis de ponte*, and 5, 8 where *pons* is a favorite station for beggars.

117. Aricinos . . . axes: Aricia (now La Riccia) was a town of Latium on the *via Appia*. On account of the large number of travellers passing that way, many beggars occupied every advantageous position where a bridge or an ascent compelled slow progress. The hills near Aricia are often mentioned in this connection, e.g. Mart. XII, 32, 10 *migrare clivum crederes Aricinum*.[5]

118. basia: to show gratitude for the charity of the travellers, who are now again on the down grade (*devexae*). **raedae**: see note on 3, 10.

119–154. After some discussion they adopt the suggestion of Montanus and recommend that a large dish be made. Then the council was dismissed. It would have been better for Domitian if he had always occupied his time with such trifles.

121. Cilicis: a gladiator, so named from his country; cf. *Syrus* in Hor. *Sat.* II, 6, 44.[6]

122. pegma: by which the boys were lifted into the air, possibly to represent Cupids or Icarus (Suet. *Ner.* 12). **velaria**: = *vela*.

123. fanaticus: C.I.L. VI, 490 *Capitolinus ex aede Bellonaes Pulvinesis fanaticus;* ib. 2232, 2234. The reference is not to the Roman war god-

[1] Gsell, *Domitien*, p. 214; Stein, Pauly-Wiss., IV, 1340 f.
[2] Cf. Dessau, *Inscr. Select.*, I, 1010 and Statius quoted on p. 44.
[3] Plin. *Ep.* IV, 22, 4. [4] C.I.L. V, 7239.
[5] For discussion of this passage, see, besides Friedl., references in § 161. J. O. Rolfe discusses *a ponte* in Class. Rev., XIV, 1900, p. 357.
[6] *Cilix* is frequent in inscriptions to indicate the nationality of soldiers.

dess but to the deity worshipped at Rome under the same name, whose cult was imported about 90 B.C. from Comana in Cappadocia. *Fanaticus*, strictly a priest of this goddess, is also used for the priests of certain other divinities, whose rites were of a wild and frenzied character. Cf. 2, 112 *fanaticus*, i.e. priest of Cybele and 6, 511 f. *furentis Bellonae*.[1]

126. de temone: Caes. *Bell. Gall.* IV, 33, 3 *per temonem percurrere et in iugo insistere...consuerint* (of the British *essedarii*).

127. Arviragus: *rex Britannorum* (schol.); see § 14. As the name occurs nowhere else, this must be the ultimate source of the name of the British prince in Shakespeare's Cymbeline.[2]

128. sudes: i.e. the thorns in the fins.

129. Fabricio: see note on l. 113.

130. censes: the technical word used of formal voting; cf. l. 136 *sententia*. **conciditur**: on the mood, see § 71, *a*.

132. orbem: usually interpreted as 'the circumference of the fish,' but it may as well refer to the circular space to be enclosed by the rim (*muro*) of the dish. Cf. Liv. II, 50, 7 *cogebantur breviore spatio et ipsi orbem colligere*.[3]

133. subitus: 3, 305 *subitus grassator*. **Prometheus**: *saturice figulus* (schol.); having made the first men out of clay, he was the first potter. In 15, 85 he is the conveyor of fire to men. Cf. 10, 132 *Vulcanus* 'a smith,' and see § 51.

135. tua castra sequantur: 'be members of your household,' for *castra* seems to have its later common meaning, 'imperial residence.'

137. noctesque Neronis: Suet. *Ner.* 27 *epulas e medio die ad mediam noctem protrahebat*.

138. aliam: i.e. *alteram*; see § 64, *b*. **Falerno**: 13, 216 *acri... Falerno*. The drinking of wine stimulated the jaded appetite.

140. forent: see § 69, *b*. Naturally the most famous oyster beds are mentioned: Circeii on the coast of Latium, the *lacus Lucrinus* near Baiae on the Bay of Naples, and Rutupiae, now Richborough, on the S. E. coast of England. See § 14.

142. deprendere: Hor. *C.* IV, 9, 49 *callet pauperiem pati*; see § 116.

144. surgitur: see note on 3, 235. **proceres**: see note on l. 73.

145. Albanam... arcem: see note on l. 60. *Arx*, instead of *villa*, has unpleasant suggestions, more plainly expressed in 10, 307 *saeva...in arce tyrannus* (see note). **dux magnus**: 2, 104 *summi ducis*. *Dux* (= *imperator*), also in 7, 21 and 16, 58, is common in this period, espe-

[1] Ruggiero, I, p. 988; III, p. 34; Aust, Pauly-Wiss., III, 255 ff.; Langen on Val. Fl. VII, 636. [2] On this and related names, see Holder, *Altcelt. Sprachschatz*, s. v.

[3] See H. L. Wilson, Class. Rev., XIV, 1900, p. 413.

cially in Martial and Statius: *dux magnus* for Domitian in Stat. *Silv.* III, 1, 62. See note on l. 46.

146. attonitos: see note on l. 80.

147. Chattis ... Sycambris: warlike tribes of Germany. Against the former Domitian conducted a campaign in 83 (Suet. 6); operations against the latter during his reign are not recorded.

148. dicturus: see §§ 111 and 118, *d*. **ex diversis partibus**: 'from different quarters'; **epistula** in the next verse is then singular for plural (§ 49, *a*); cf. Verg. *Aen.* XII, 708 *genitos diversis partibus orbis*. Some interpret *epistula* strictly, and loosely translate *diversis partibus* 'from remote quarters.' *Ex* is read in *codex Bodl.* only; *P* has *et*.

149. praecipiti pinna: the *laurus* attached to despatches indicated victory, but the *pinna* disaster (schol.); cf. Plin. *N. H.* XV, 133 and Stat. *Silv.* V, 1, 93 *nullaque famosa signatur lancea penna*. It is possible, however, that on account of *praecipiti* the expression should here be taken metaphorically.

153. cerdonibus: *ignobilibus* (schol.); *sutoribus* (gloss *p*); cf. 3, 294; 8, 182. Κέρδων was used at Athens as a name for slaves and people of the lower order, workers for small wages (κέρδος). Martial applies the word to a shoemaker, probably not as a proper name.[1] Domitian's murderers were men of no rank (Suet. 17).

154. coeperat: see § 104. **Lamiarum**: L. Aelius Plautius Lamia Aelianus, consul suffectus in 80, was put to death by the emperor. As in 6, 385, he is a type of the highest nobility.

SATIRE V

THE PARASITE

The treatment of parasites and poor clients at the tables of rich patrons is a common subject in Roman literature. Plautus, Terence, and Martial furnish good illustrations, and Pliny, *Ep.* II, 6, gives an account of a dinner in most respects similar to the one here described. In Pliny, however, we have the description of a real occurrence, with none of the exaggeration which mars the page of Juvenal. On the Greek side, Lucian (*De Merc. Cond.*) furnishes the best parallels; and in English, Bishop Hall has a close imitation, even using the names of Trebius and Virro (*Sat.* V, 2).

The satire as a whole is vigorous and leaves a distinct impression, but Juvenal's usual faults are apparent. Instead of following the regular

[1] Mart. III, 16, 1; 59, 1; 99, 1; see A.L.L. V, p. 65.

order of courses at a dinner, he omits, combines, and rearranges to suit himself; he also introduces digressions, some of which break the sequence in a very striking manner. Compare especially ll. 107–13, 125–31, 132–45, and see § 141 and note on l. 99.

1–11. You are a despicable creature, Trebius, if you still prefer to eat the rich man's bread and endure insulting treatment at his table. It costs little to live; if you lack that little, you had better beg on the street.

1. propositi: 'course of life,' as in 9, 21. Not quite the same are 10, 325; 3, 24 (*proponimus*), and Hor. *C.* III, 3, 1 *tenacem propositi*.

2. bona summa: see § 48. **aliena**: cf. Plaut. *Capt.* 77 *quasi mures semper edimus alienum cibum* (of parasites). **quadra**: i.e. a quarter of a loaf; cf. Sen. *Ben.* IV, 29, 2 *quadram panis;* Mart. III, 77, 3 *quadra placentae*.

3. Sarmentus: like Gabba (l. 4), a jester at the court of Augustus, perhaps the same as the Sarmentus of Hor. *Sat.* I, 5, 52.

4. Gabba: cf. Mart. I, 41, 16 and X, 101. According to Plutarch, *Amat.* 16, 22 f., he simulated sleep at table during an intrigue of Maecenas with his wife, but when a slave was about to take some wine, aroused himself with the words Κακόδαιμον, οὐκ οἶσθα ὅτι μόνῳ Μαικήνᾳ καθεύδω. This story, however, was of earlier date; see note on 1, 55.

5. iurato: see § 114, *b*, and for the active meaning, G.-L. § 167, N. 1.

7. puta: on the imperative instead of a protasis, see § 107.

8. crepido: the steps of public buildings were haunted by beggars. **pons**: see note on 4, 116. **tegetis**: a regular part of the outfit.

10. possit: sc. *fames;* cf. 3, 16 *mendicat silva*. **illic**: cf. l. 8.

11. tremere: *frigore laborare* (gloss *p*). **sordes farris**: i.e. *far sordidum;* cf. Suet. *Ner.* 48 *panem sordidum*, and see § 52.

12–23. In the first place, your invitation to the rich man's table, rarely as it comes, is considered by him a full return for all the hardships you have endured in his service.

12. fige: 'observe,' as in 9, 94; 11, 28; cf. Verg. *Aen.* III, 250 *accipite ergo animis atque haec mea figite dicta*. **discumbere**: of one person, as in Petron. 57, 67, 70; this shows a weakening in the force of the prefix. See note on 3, 82. **iussus**: 'invited'; cf. Verg. *Aen.* I, 708 *iussi discumbere;* Petron. 21 *iussi ergo discubuimus*.

13. capis: see § 44. **officiorum**: see note on 3, 239.

14. amicitiae magnae: cf. 4, 74 f. and see note on 1, 33. **rex**: see note on 1, 136; cf. ll. 130, 161.

15. rarum: with *quamvis;* see § 114, *b*. **ergo**: see note on 1, 3.

17. tertia: the place assigned to Trebius is the lowest of all (*imus in imo*); cf. the disposition of guests in Hor. Sat. II, 8, 20 f., 40 f. **cessaret**: on the sequence, see G.-L. § 511, R. 1.

18. votorum summa: sc. *est;* see § 138, *a* and cf. Plin. *Ep.* VII, 26, 3 *haec summa curarum, summa votorum.*

19. rumpere somnum: the discomforts suffered by the *salutatores* are often mentioned, especially by Martial: see note on 3, 130.

20. ligulas: i.e. *lingulas,* 'shoe-straps,' from *lingua.*[1] See p. lxix.

21. salutatrix: see § 47, *a*. **turba**: see note on 3, 239.

22. dubiis: 'fading,' i.e. just before sunrise; cf. Plin. *Ep.* VI, 20, 6 *hora diei prima, et adhuc dubius et quasi languidus dies.*

23. pigri: often also *tardus* or *serus;* cf. *Odyss.* v, 272 *ὀψὲ δύοντα βοώτην.* Because of its northern position, Bootes approaches the horizon more slowly and in winter sets about dawn. **serraca**: literally in 3, 255; usually *plaustrum* in this sense, e.g. Ovid, *Met.* II, 176 f. *Boote, quamvis tardus eras et te tua plaustra tenebant;* Sen. *Med.* 314 f. *flectit... tardus plaustra Bootes.*

24–48. And what a dinner! You drink from broken cups the worst of wine, which goes to your head and drives you to various excesses: your host quaffs choice old vintage from a golden goblet studded with jewels.

24. sucida: from the sweat and grease still in the freshly shorn wool.[2] The use of *lana sucida* soaked with wine or oil for external applications is often referred to by Celsus, Pliny, Vegetius, and others; e.g. Plin. *N. H.* XXIII, 47 *hoc genus vini... in sucida lana inpositum;* ib. XXIX, 126 *superinponi oportet... lanamque sucidam ex oleo ac vino.*

25. Corybanta: i.e. the *gallus* or priest of Cybele; see note on 4, 123.

26. iurgia proludunt: 'an altercation is the first thing'; cf. 3, 288·15, 51.

27. saucius: i.e. by wine; see §§ 124, 127. **rubra**: see § 56.

28. vos: i.e. Trebius and his fellow clients.

29. Saguntina: Mart. XIV, 108 *Saguntino pocula facta luto.* Saguntum in Spain was noted for its pottery. **lagona**: instrumental.

30. ipse: 'the host'; common in daily life for *dominus.* Cf. ll. 37, 56, 86, 107, 114, 142; 1, 33 and 10, 7. **capillato**: like *barbato* (note on 4, 103), points to an ancient date. **diffusum**: 'bottled.' Wine

[1] The form *ligula* is of popular origin, due to the analogy of *ligare,* 'bind'; cf. schol. *dictae autem ligulae a ligando.* It should not be confounded with *ligula,* 'spoon', probably from *lingere;* see Lindsay, *Lat. Lang.*, p. 272 and G. Meyer, Indog. Forsch., II, p. 368.

[2] Varro, *R. R.* II, 11, 6.

was poured into jars (*dolia*) as soon as made ; if fit to be preserved, it was later sealed up in *amphorae* or *cadi*. Columella, XII, 28, tells when and how this should be done.

31. bellis socialibus: i.e. about two hundred years old ; cf. Hor. *C.* III, 14, 18 *cadum Marsi memorem duelli* (i.e. from the same war).

32. cardiaco: wine was considered beneficial to sufferers from this complaint (*καρδιακός*) ; Plin. *N. H.* XXIII, 50 *cardiacorum morbo unicam spem hanc e vino esse certum est.* **missurus**: see § 118, *b*.

33. Albanis . . . Setinis: fine wines of Latium ; cf. 13, 214 and 10, 27.

34. titulum: the label is no longer legible. For such a *titulus*, cf. C.I.L. XV, 4531 *Alb(anum)* ; *Gaetulico et Calvisio* [*co*](*n*)*s*(*ulibus*), *diff*(*udit*) *Gamus l*(*ibertus*) : i.e. 'Alban wine of 26 A.D., bottled by Gamus, the freedman.' For other uses, cf. 6, 230 and 10, 143 ; 14, 291 ; see notes on 1, 129 and 11, 86. **senectus**: of wine also in 13, 214.

35. fuligine: the *amphorae* were kept in a chamber exposed to smoke; cf. Tibull. II, 1, 27 *nunc mihi fumosos veteris proferte Falernos consulis.*

36. Thrasea: P. Clodius Thrasea Paetus,[1] consul suffectus in 56 A.D., because of his independence and love of liberty was condemned to death under Nero on a charge of treason in 66. His son-in-law **Helvidius** Priscus, who sympathized with him, was banished in the same year, but was restored by Galba and became praetor in 70. Having treated Vespasian with disrespect, he was banished and finally put to death (Suet. 15).

37. Brutorum: i.e. D. and M. Brutus, who with C. Cassius were leaders in the plot against Caesar. **ipse**: see note on l. 30.

38. Heliadum: the daughters of Helios, whose tears were turned to amber ; cf. Hygin. 154 ; Ovid, *Met.* X, 263 *Heliadum lacrimas;* Mart. IX, 13, 6 *gemma Heliadum.* **inaequales**: see note on 1, 76. This is the only verse of Juvenal which ends with three spondees: see § 152.

39. Virro: the host. The name occurs also in 9, 35, but see § 24. **aurum**: see note on 1, 28 and § 129, *c*.

41. ungues observet: theft at table was not uncommon ; cf. Tac. *Hist.* I, 48 (T. Vinius was suspected) *tamquam scyphum aureum in convivio Claudii furatus, et Claudius postera die soli omnium Vinio fictilibus ministrari iussit.*[2]

42. iaspis: Verg. *Aen.* IV, 261 f. *illi stellatus iaspide fulva ensis erat.*

44. a digitis: Mart. XIV, 109 *gemmatum Scythicis ut luceat ignibus aurum, aspice. quot digitos exuit iste calix !* See § 26.

45. iuvenis: i.e. Aeneas ; cf. Verg. *Aen.* IV, 36 *despectus Iarbas,* and see § 142.

[1] The name occurs in a Pompeian wax tablet, C.I.L. IV, suppl. 1, p. 309.

[2] Cf. Suet. *Claud.* 32.

46. sutoris: Vatinius, once a cobbler of Beneventum, attained great influence at the court of Nero. A kind of cup with four spouts, from its resemblance to his long nose, was called *calix Vatinius* or simply *Vatinius*. Cf. Mart. XIV, 96 *vilia sutoris calicem monumenta Vatini accipe; sed nasus longior ille fuit.*

48. sulpura: of which cement was made; cf. Plin. *N. H.* XXXVI, 199 *vitrum sulpuri concoctum feruminatur in lapidem.* Probably, however, Juvenal refers to sulphur-sticks which corresponded to our matches (13. 145). These were exchanged for broken glass.[1]

49–79. Even the water you use is inferior and is handed you by an ugly African; your host is attended by a beautiful youth who will not deign to look at you. Your bread is stale and mouldy, but you dare not touch the fine, white loaf which Virro enjoys. At last you wonder whether this repays you for all you have endured.

50. decocta: sc. *aqua.* The method of boiling water and then cooling with snow was devised by Nero; cf. Plin. *N. H.* XXXI, 40.

51. poni: see note on 1, 141 and § 44.

52. cursor: a runner pressed into table service; cf. Sen. *Ep.* 123, 7 *omnes iam sic peregrinantur...ut agmen cursorum antecedat*; Petron. 28 *praecedentibus phaleratis cursoribus.*

54. occurrere: Sen. *Apocol.* 13 (*canem*) *non quem velis tibi in tenebris occurrere.*

55. clivosae ... Latinae: see note on 1, 171.

56. flos Asiae: *pulcher puer Asianus caro pretio comparatus* (schol.). **ipsum:** see note on l. 30 and on ellipsis, § 138, *b*. **pretio maiore paratus:** Dracont. v, 183 *pretio maiore parantur.* See note on 3, 224.

57. Tulli ... Anci: Tullus Hostilius and Ancus Martius; perhaps proverbial in this connection. Cf. Hor. *C.* IV, 7, 15 *Tullus dives et Ancus.*

59. frivola: all the wealth of the kings was but a trifle in comparison; cf. 3, 198. **Ganymedem:** cf. 9, 47; 13, 43. The name of the beautiful cup-bearer of the gods is almost startling in connection with *Gaetulum.* Juvenal is fond of such contrasts; see § 131 and note on 1, 71.

60. cum sities: see § 109. **tot milibus:** cf. l. 56 and 11, 145. Plin. *N. H.* VII, 56 and Mart. III, 62, 1, mention enormous prices for such *pueri delicati*, approximately $4500 to $9000 of our money.

62. digna supercilio: 'justify his disdain.' **ille:** i.e. *Gaetulus;* emphatic position.

63. gelidae: see note on l. 50. This line follows l. 64 in *P Bodl.*

64. veteri ... clienti: see note on 1, 132 *veteres...clientes.*

[1] Mart. 1, 41, 4; X, 3, 3 f.

65. stante: cf. C. Gracchus in Gell. XV, 12, 2 *neque pueri eximia facie stabant*, 'there were no handsome waiters'; Mart. IV, 66, 10 *sed stetit inculti rustica turba foci.* **recumbas**: see note on 3, 82.

66. servis: on the ablative, see § 95; on apothegms, see § 37.

68. mucida frusta: 14, 128 *mucida caerulei panis consumere frusta.*

70. siligine fictus: cf. Cato, *Agr.* 76, 1 f. *farinae siligineae L. ii, ...placentam fingito*; ib. 82 *spaeritam sic facito, ita uti spiram, nisi sic fingito.* Hence a baker is sometimes called *fictor.*

72. artoptae: a bread-pan (ἀρτόπτης) for baking finer kinds of bread; cf. Plaut. *Aul.* 400 *ego hinc artoptam ex proxumo utendam peto.* On Greek words, see § 46, *a.* **finge**: see § 107.

73. inprobulum: 'a little forward'; see § 41, II, *a.* **ponere**: 'put it down'; see § 44.

74. vis tu: cf. Hor. *Sat.* II, 6, 92 *vis tu* (i.e. surely you will) *homines urbemque feris praeponere silvis?* Like English 'will you not', it is often equivalent to a command. On the other hand *vin* (i.e. *visne*) *tu* regularly implies a negative answer, e.g. 10, 90.

75. colorem: cf. l. 70 *niveus* and 14, 128 *caerulei panis.* Ll. 74 and 75 are the words of the waiter, 76–79 the meditation of Trebius.

76. fuerat: on the tense, see § 72, *d.*

77. montem ... Esquilias: i.e. *montem Esquilinum;* see note on 3, 71.

79. Iuppiter: Hor. *C.* I, 1, 25 *sub Iove frigido.* **paenula**: an outer garment (φαινόλης) corresponding to our overcoat or jacket; see § 46, *a.*

80–106. Virro has a fine lobster and the largest fish which can be imported, with oil from Venafrum as dressing; you get nothing but a crab, some cabbage with rancid oil, or a Tiber fish fed from the sewers.

81. squilla: 'a lobster.' **saepta**: cf. l. 84 *constrictus.*

82. qua: on the interrogatives, see § 62, *d.* **convivia**: see § 48.

84. cammarus: a kind of crab, inferior to the *squilla.* It is contrasted with a mullet in Mart. II, 43, 12.

85. ponitur: see note on 1, 141 and § 44. **feralis**: i.e. *novemdialis.* Nine days after a funeral, food of the plainest sort (eggs, etc.) was placed on the grave. **patella**: on the ablative without *in*, see § 91.

86. ipse: see note on l. 30. **Venafrano**: sc. *oleo;* the finest oil was made at Venafrum (now Venafro) in Samnium.

87. pallidus: boiling in a solution of saltpetre made it green; Mart. XIII, 17 *ne tibi pallentes moveant fastidia caules, nitrata viridis brassica fiat aqua.*

88. lanternam: Hor. *Sat.* I, 6, 123 f. *unguor olivo, non quo fraudatis*

inmundus Natta lucernis; Theophr. *Char.* 19 ἐλαίῳ σαπρῷ ἐν βαλανείῳ χρώμενος. On the cadence, see p. lxix.

89. canna: a kind of ship, according to Valla's Probus (§ 34). Originally *canna* (a reed) must have been a small boat made of reeds, such as was used on the Nile.[1] **Micipsarum**: *id est Afrorum* (Valla). Micipsa, the son of Masinissa, the famous ally of Rome, was king of Numidia; cf. Sall. *Iug.* 5 ff. and see § 50. **subvexit**: 'brought up,' sc. the Tiber; cf. 7, 121 *Tiberi devectum.*

90. Boccare: perhaps the king of Mauretania mentioned by Liv. XXIX, 30, 1 (text uncertain). His name is typical for an African; see § 50.

92. mullus: see note on 4, 15.

93. Tauromenitanae: Tauromenium (now Taormina), a city on the E. coast of Sicily. **rupes**: the mullet caught among the rocks was most esteemed: cf. Sen. *Nat. Quaest.* III, 18, 4 *nihil est melius saxatili mullo.* **quando**: see note on 3, 21.

94. nostrum: i.e. *Tuscum* or *Tyrrhenum* (l. 96), the sea nearest to Rome (cf. l. 96 *proxima*). **gula**: see note on 1, 140. **saevit**: 15, 100 *ventris furor.* On the *dum*-clause, see § 100.

95. scrutante: Sen. *Ep.* 89, 22, *insatiabilis gula hinc maria scrutatur, hinc terras.* **macello**: cf. 11, 10 and 6, 40.

98. captator: see note on 3, 129. **Laenas, Aurelia**: i.e. *captator* and rich *orba.* See §§ 24 and 50. **vendat**: she receives more gifts of this sort than she can use.

99. Virroni: it may reasonably be questioned whether Juvenal intended both ll. 92–98 and ll. 99–102 to stand in the text. The way in which the host was served is described in both of these sections, one of which may have been written as a substitute for the other.[2]

100. Siculo: Mart. XIII, 80, 1 *quae natat in Siculo grandis muraena profundo;* Varro, *R. R.* II, 6, 2 *muraenae optumae flutae sunt in Sicilia.* **auster**: the wind which could most fully sweep the strait and make it dangerous; cf. Sen. *Ep.* 14, 8 (*auster*) *qui Siculum pelagus exasperet.*

101. carcere pinnas: as usual, the wind is pictured as a winged creature; cf. 1, 9; 10, 181; Verg. *Aen.* 1, 52 f. *rex Aeolus...ventos vinclis et carcere frenat.*

102. temeraria: see § 130. **lina**: see note on 4, 45.

103. anguilla: on diminutive with change of meaning, see § 41, 1, *e.*

104. Tiberinus: an inferior fish of the Tiber. **et ipse**: 'he too (like the *anguilla*).'

106. Suburae: see note on 3, 5. The fish swims up the sewers.

[1] Plin. *N.H.* VII, 206.

[2] On double recension, see H. L. Wilson, Am. Jour. Phil., XXII, 1901, pp. 277–80.

107–113. I should like to tell Virro that no one expects him to rival the generous patrons of old, but merely to show some consideration.

107. ipsi: see note on l. 30. **facilem**: cf. 3, 122 *facilem...aurem.*

108. modicis: cf. l. 146 *vilibus*; 6, 582 and 11, 177 *mediocris.* So in Luc. VII, 267 Caesar desires to become again a *civis modicus.*

109. L. Annaeus Seneca, the philosopher (8, 212), C. Calpurnius Piso, who was put to death in 65 A.D. after the failure of his conspiracy against Nero, and Cotta, probably M. Aurelius Cotta,[1] the friend of Ovid,[2] are types of the noble and generous patron of former days. Cf. Mart. XII, 36, 8 f. *Pisones Senecasque Memmiosque et Crispos mihi redde, sed priores*; see § 50 and note on 7, 94.

110. titulis: see notes on 1, 129 and 11, 86. **olim**: see § 67, *c.*

112. poscimus ut: see § 102. **face**: early and poetic form; see § 42. **esto**: on the repetition, see § 134.

114–145. For the main course your host has wild boar and other delicacies, all carved with the utmost precision: meanwhile you dare not open your mouth. If some fairy should suddenly make you rich, what honor would not Virro show you, especially if you were without children.

114. anseris...iecur: Mart. XIII, 58 *aspice quam tumeat magno iecur ansere maius* (§ 26). The unnaturally distended liver was a valued dainty. **ipsum**: see note on l. 30. On the cadence, see p. lxix.

115. altilis: sc. *avis.* Fowl were fattened by keeping in the dark and overfeeding them: the details of the method are given by Varro, *R. R.* III, 9, 19 f.; Mart. XIII, 62. **flavi...Meleagri**: the slayer of the famous Calydonian boar, the ξανθὸς Μελέαγρος of *Iliad*, II, 642.

116. spumat: the boar was served up head and all; cf. 1, 140. Buecheler has suggested that the appearance of foam may have been imitated. **tubera**: 'truffles,' a favorite dish of the mushroom species. Pliny, *N. H.* XIX, 37, says that they were most plentiful after thunder-storms, but of finest quality in the springtime (*tenerrima autem verno esse*); cf. 14, 7 *tubera terrae.*

We should expect the remains of the boar and other delicacies to be served afterwards to the poorer guests; but Juvenal makes no mention of their receiving any of this course.[3]

[1] See *Pros. Imp. Rom.* and Pauly-Wiss., II, 2490. E. Klebs, however, regards this as a certain reference to the Aurelius Cotta of Tac. *Ann.* XIII, 34 (Friedl. p. 607).

[2] *Pont.* II, 8; III, 2 and 5.

[3] Cf. Lucian, *Kron.* 22. For a divergent view based on ll. 166 f., see A. Gercke, Gött. gel. Anz., 1896, pp. 984 f.

118. tibi habe: a form of abrupt or even rude refusal; cf. Ter. *Ph.* 435. Yet this force is not always present; cf. 3, 188.

119. Libye: Africa, like Egypt, Sicily, and Sardinia, was an important source of Rome's food supply; cf. 8, 117. Pliny also states that the best truffles came from Africa (*N. H.* XIX, 34).

120. structorem: strictly speaking, the man who arranges the dishes for the table; cf. 7, 184 f. *qui fercula docte conponat;* Serv. *Aen.* I, 704 *unde et structores dicuntur ferculorum conpositores.* Here and in II, 136 he is at the same time carver (*scissor* and in 9, 110 *carptor*). **indignatiŏ**: cf. I, 79 and see §§ 129, *b* and 157.

121. chironomunta: present participle of χειρονομῶ, 'gesture,' 'gesticulate'; see § 46, *a*. Such motions were learned at the school where carving was taught; cf. l. 122 *magistri;* Petron. 36 (*scissor*) *gesticulatus ita laceravit obsonium;* see note on II, 141.

123. nec minimo: i.e. *maximo.* **sane**: 'to be sure,' ironical.

125. duceris: Plaut. *Capt.* 721 f. *ducite, ubi... capiat compedes.* This use of *ducere* occurs as early as the Laws of the Twelve Tables and is probably juristic; see § 44. **Cacus**: reference to his death in Verg. *Aen.* VIII, 264 f. *pedibusque informe cadaver protrahitur* (*ab Hercule*).

127. hiscere: 'open your mouth'; so Cic. *Phil.* II, 111 *omnino hiscere audebis?* **tria nomina**: the slave had only one name, followed by his master's name in the genitive, but the freeborn Roman as a rule had three. Cf. Quint. VII, 3, 27 *propria liberi, quod nemo habet nisi liber, praenomen nomen cognomen tribum.* The freedman usually took the *praenomen* and *nomen* of his master, keeping his slave name as a *cognomen*, though, of course, custom varied at different periods. **propinat**: it was customary to drink first and then pass the cup to the one whose health was proposed.

128. tibi: see § 157. **contacta**: Ovid, *A. A.* I, 575 f. *illius tacta labellis pocula.* Here, however, *contacta* probably means more than *tacta*; cf. 6A, 14 (p. 41).

129. usque adeo: see note on 3, 84; for this punctuation, cf. 15, 82.

130. perditus: see note on 3, 73. **regi**: see note on I, 136.

131. pertusa... laena: 'when their coats are out at the elbows,' as we should say. See § 37 and note on 3, 283.

132. quadringenta: see note on I, 106. **tibi**: see § 157. **dis**: see § 83, *a*, and on the cadence, p. lxix.

133. homuncio: Petron. 34 *diutius vivit vinum quam homuncio.*

134. ex nihilo: for the construction, cf. 7, 197 *fies de rhetore consul.*

135. pone: see note on I, 141 and § 44.

136. nummi: with the thought, cf. I, 112 f.

137. fratres: Mart. VIII, 81, 6 (of Gellia and her pearls) *hos fratres vocat, hos vocat sorores, hos natis amat acrius duobus.* **rex**: see note on I, 136.

The following digression on legacy-hunting (note on 3, 129) is quite in the style of Juvenal, who takes little pains to avoid such dislocations; see §§ 36 and 141.

139. luserit: on this rare use, see G.-L. § 263, 3, N.; Lane, § 1549. **Aeneas**: a parody of Dido's words in Verg. *Aen.* IV, 328 f. *si quis mihi parvolus aula luderet Aeneas;* see § 26.

141. Mycale: *concubina* (gloss *p*). As the offspring of a concubine could not legally inherit, Trebius, still represented as rich, might have a number of such children, who would only be welcomed by Virro and presented with little gifts.[1]

142. ipse: see note on l. 30. **loquaci . . . nido**: probably a reminiscence of Verg. *Aen.* XII, 475 *pabula parva legens nidisque loquacibus escas;* see § 26.

143. viridem thoraca: *prasinam vestem vel tunicam* (gloss *p*). As Juvenal uses *viridis* of the *factio prasina* in the Circus (note on II, 198), he probably means here a child's tunic made after the fashion of a jockey's.

144. nuces: the most common playthings of Roman children; hence *nuces relinquere*, 'to put away childish things.'[2] Ovid (?), *Nux*, describes several games played with nuts, some of them resembling our games with marbles.

146–155. In the remaining courses, you clients are served as poorly as before, but Virro has the choicest viands that earth can produce.

146. vilibus: see note on l. 108. **ponentur**: see note on I, 141.

147. boletus: Mart. I, 20, 4 *boletum qualem Claudius edit, edas* (§ 26). In a *boletus* Agrippina is said to have given Claudius the poison which carried him off (6, 620 f.; Suet. *Claud.* 44). **sed**: see § 76.

149. Virronibus: i.e. the nobler guests; cf. 10, 108; 12, 39; see § 50.

151. Phaeacum: the fruit which grew in the gardens of Alcinous, the Homeric king of Phaeacia (*Odyss.* VII, 114 ff.), and in those of the Hes-

[1] By the assumption that Mycale—apparently a slave's name—is a concubine, Virro's attitude to the children is explained (so Friedl. and Buecheler). According to Mayor, however, who is followed by some more recent editors, Mycale is the wife of Trebius, and *nunc* ('as it is') marks a return to the original point of view, namely, that Trebius is a poor client. The reading of *P* is *mygale* (μῦγαλῆ), which, notwithstanding the change of quantity, may be right because more suggestive as a name for a woman of this class; see notes on 3, 76 and 10, 238.

[2] Pers. I, 10; Mart. V, 84, 1; Marquardt-Mau, *Privatleben*, pp. 839 f.

perides (*sororibus Afris*) was proverbial for the finest. The two proverbs are connected also in Mart. x, 94 and xiii, 37.[1]

152. subrepta: the apples of the Hesperides were stolen by Hercules in spite of the dragon which guarded them.

153. scabie . . . mali: see § 52. **aggere**: the wall of Servius Tullius, running from hill to hill across valleys or level ground, took the form of an *agger*, i.e. a ditch and an embankment supported by strong walls (Cic. *Rep.* ii, 11). It was a breezy spot (8, 43), a favorite promenade (Hor. *Sat.* i, 8, 15 *aggere in aprico spatiari*), and for that reason the resort of fortune-tellers (6, 588) and showmen.[2]

154. qui tegitur: i.e. a trained monkey performing on the back of a goat; see § 142. A performing monkey is mentioned also by Mart. xiv, 202 *callidus emissas eludere simius hastas.* **flagelli**: see § 88.

156–173. It is not in a miserly spirit that Virro treats you so, but because he is amused by your humiliation. No freeborn man should subject himself to such treatment for the sake of a dinner; but if you can endure these insults, you deserve them all.

156. inpensae: see note on 3, 216.

157. hoc agit: more commonly *id agit*, 'this is his object,' 'he devotes himself to this'; cf. 7, 20, 48. **comoedia, mimus**: on dramatic entertainment at banquets, see note on ii, 179.

158. quis: see § 62, *a*. **gula ergo**: see note on i, 140 and § 156.

161. liber: Mart. ix, 10, 4 *liber non potes et gulosus esse;* id. ii, 53, 3 *liber eris, cenare foris si, Maxime, noles.* **regis**: see note on i, 136.

162. nidore: Mart. i, 92, 9 *pasceris . . . solo nidore culinae;* see § 26.

163. nudus: 'destitute,' as in 7, 35.

164. Etruscum . . . aurum: i.e. *bulla* (see § 129, *c* and note on i, 28), called by Stat. *Silv.* v, 3, 120 *nobile pectoris aurum*, and by Val. Max. v, 6, 8 *insignia ingenuitatis.* The *bulla* was a small locket-like receptacle for amulets (*praebia*), worn by freeborn boys till the assumption of the *toga virilis.* Among the poorer classes it was made of leather (l. 165 *loro*) and worn suspended from the neck by a common band (*nodus*). The custom was brought to Rome from Etruria, where the *bulla* was worn by persons of noble birth. Examples of *bullae* are still extant in Naples, Mentz, London, and elsewhere, and representations in ancient art are common.[3]

166. ecce dabit: these unspoken words are an expansion of *spes.*

[1] A. Sonny, A.L.L. viii, p. 487.

[2] Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations*, pp. 60 ff. (cut on page 62); Hülsen, *Nom. Topog.*

[3] See Mau, Pauly-Wiss., iii, 1048 ff.

168. minor: too small for the host or the guests of the first rank ; see § 57, *e*. **altilis**: see note on l. 115.

169. stricto: 'ready for action' (Duff). The word is naturally used of a sword; see § 127 and note on I, 165. **tacetis**: the text is uncertain; *iacetis* (*P*) may be correct.[1]

171. vertice raso: a regular character in the *mimus* was the *stupidus* with shaven head; cf. Arnob. VII, 33 *stupidorum capitibus rasis*. His part consisted chiefly in being cuffed and knocked about for the amusement of the spectators ; cf. 8, 192 *alapas* and 8, 197 *stupidi... Corinthi*. This is the fate to which Trebius' servility will lead him.

172. quandoque: this indefinite use occurs as early as Cicero (*Fam.* VI, 19, 2), but is more common later ; see § 66.

173. flagra: the instrument for punishing slaves suggests the slave's condition and character; cf. 10, 109.

SATIRE VII

THE DISCOURAGEMENTS OF LITERARY MEN

Judged by common literary standards, this satire is lacking in harmonious structure and due proportion, but these faults are not unusual in Juvenal (§ 36). Friedl. argues that the body of the poem (ll. 36–243), which deals with the inadequate return for intellectual effort—five different professions are taken as types—was composed in the reign of Trajan, but that the introduction (ll. 1–21), which points to better prospects for poets through the emperor's favor, was written after the accession of Hadrian (117 A.D.), and badly joined to the earlier piece by ll. 22–35. Granting, as we must, that the Caesar of lines 1–21 is Hadrian, who favored the pursuit of literature (§ 10), we are not on that account obliged to assume an earlier date for the composition of the rest. It seems more likely that early in Hadrian's reign Juvenal wrote this satire, expressing his hope based on the imperial favor, but describing conditions as they were and had been.[2]

1–35. No longer need poets give up literary pursuits, and eke out a livelihood in baser occupations ; an indulgent emperor is ready to be their patron. Let them not expect support from any other source ; for the rich bestow nothing but praise, leaving the poet to meet old age in poverty and discouragement.

[1] R. Beer, *Spicil. Iuv.*, p. 67.

[2] See A. Gercke, Gött. gel. Anz., 1896, p. 984.

1. spes et ratio: 'prospects and motive.' On *ratio*, see § 157. **studiorum:** of literary composition; cf. l. 17. **Caesare:** the emperor Hadrian; see § 10 and cf. Dryden, XI, 28 (*Epist.* 6) 'The Muses' empire is restored again, In Charles his reign,' and Boswell's praise of George the Third.[1]

2. Camenas: identified with the Muses; see note on 3, 16.

3. respexit: frequently used of the provident care of the gods, e.g. Cic. *Att.* I, 16, 6 *nisi quis nos deus respexerit*. Cf. the double use of English 'regard,' which translates *respexit* in Vulg. Luc. I, 48. **celebres notique:** see § 139.

4. balneolum: see § 41, I, *b*. **Gabiis:** see note on 3, 192.

6. praecones: see note on 3, 33. **Aganippes:** a fountain dedicated to the Muses at the foot of Mount Helicon.

7. esuriens: see § 45. **atria:** sc. *auctionaria*. An inscription from the vicinity of Superaequum, N. E. of Rome, in Paelignian territory, mentions an *atrium auctionarium;* a number of such places must have existed in Rome.[2] **Clio:** so *Terpsichore* = *Musa* in l. 35. See § 122.

8. Pieria . . . umbra: note the similar position of the words in Mart. IX, 84, 3 *haec ego Pieria ludebam tutus in umbra;* id. II, 44, 9 *et quadrans mihi nullus est in arca. Umbra*, as in l. 105, points to the peaceful seclusion which is necessary to the man of letters, and in l. 173 to the quiet life of the school in contrast with the activity of the law courts.

9. ames: 'you must put up with'; cf. the similar use of ἀγαπᾶν. **Machaerae:** a *praeco*, as the context shows; see § 24 and note on 3, 33.

10. commissa . . . auctio: 'the contest of the auction'; see § 127 and cf. I, 163 and 5, 29.

11. stantibus: i.e. *circumstantibus*, as in Ovid, *Met.* XIII, 1 *vulgi stante corona*, though *corona* suggests the force of the prefix; see § 44.[3]

12. Alcithoen: according to Ovid, *Met.* IV, 1 ff., Alcithoe and her sisters neglected the rites of Bacchus and were turned into bats. With these tragedies of otherwise unknown poets, cf. those mentioned in I, 4 ff. Doubtless these subjects were common in Latin as in Greek; in 6, 644 a tragedy of Tereus is mentioned.

13. sub iudice: i.e. in court as a witness; cf. 16, 30.

14. faciant: on the mood, see § 113, *a*. **equites Asiani:** at this time any one who possessed the 400,000 sesterces required by law might be recognized as *eques Romanus* (note on 3, 154). *Asiani* refers only to

[1] Boswell's *Johnson*, Macmillan, 1900, I, p. 270.

[2] C. I. L. IX, 3307; cf. ib. XIV, 1941 and Suppl. It. 652; Cic. *Agr.* I, 7; id. *Quinct.* 12; Liv. XXXIX, 44, 7.

[3] J. Jessen, Philologus, LIX, 1900, p. 515, thinking of an auction in the open air, interprets *stantibus* 'denen, die stehen bleiben'; see note on 3, 237.

the Roman province of Asia, which did not include Cappadocia, Bithynia, or Galatia: cf. Cic. *Deiot.* 37 *in Asia, Cappadocia, Ponto, Cilicia, Syria bella gesserunt; Bell. Alex.* 78, 1 *per Gallograeciam Bithyniamque in Asiam iter facit.* On Juvenal's hatred of foreigners, see § 19.

15. quamquam: for the position, cf. 6, 199. **Cappadoces**: the most despised of Orientals, notorious for laziness, cowardice, and other ill qualities.[1] **Bīthyni**: elsewhere *Bīthyni*, e.g. 10, 162; 15, 1; see § 157. The text is probably corrupt.[2]

16. altera . . . Gallia: i.e. *Galatia* or *Gallograecia*, so called from Gallic tribes which settled in Asia in 278 B.C.[3] **nudo . . . talo**: see note on 1, 111. **traducit**: 'exposes to ridicule,' as in 2, 159; 8, 17; 11, 31, though some interpret literally 'sends across the sea.' See § 142.

19. laurumque momordit: the laurel, being sacred to Apollo, was a source of prophetic and poetic inspiration; cf. Tibull. II, 5, 63 f. *sacras innoxia laurus vescar* (words of the Sibyl).

20. hoc agite: Sen. *Ben.* III, 36, 2 *hoc agite, optimi iuvenes;* see note on 5, 157.

21. sibi: see § 157. **ducis indulgentia**: see note on 4, 145; cf. Stat. *Silv.* V, 2, 125 *ergo age, nam magno ducis indulgentia pulsat.*

22. spectanda: i.e. *exspectanda;* for this colloquial use, cf. Ennodius, p. 479, 17 (Hartel) *esset plectenda neglegentia et spectaret de illis poenam iudicibus* and see § 44.

23. croceae membrana tabellae: probably small note-books of parchment, such as were used for original drafts or memoranda; in Mart. XIV, 7, *pugillares membranei.*[4] *Tabella* is the page, as *cera* in the wax tablet; see notes on 1, 5, 63. The regular form of a published book was still the roll (*volumen*), though Martial mentions a Homer, a Vergil, and other authors *in membranis.*[5]

25. Veneris . . . marito: i.e. *Vulcano;* cf. 10, 112 and see § 142. Catullus expresses the same idea in 36, 7 *scripta tardipedi deo daturam.*

26. pertunde: i.e. *sine pertundi*, a permissive use of the word.

27. frange . . . calamum: Mart. IX, 73, 9 *frange leves calamos et scinde,*

[1] For a picture of the land and people, see Gildersleeve, *Essays and Studies*, pp. 355 f.; on the name as a proverb, A. Sonny, A.L.L. VIII, pp. 485 f.

[2] The emendation preferred by Buecheler, *faciantque equites Bithyni*, which makes the verse spondaic, was advocated by Polstorff in 1896. If we should also insert *et* after *Bithyni* (Weise, l. l. p. 70), the text would be free from objection. S. G. Owen, ed. 1902, suggests *Cappadoces, faciant Bithyni equitesque.*

[3] *P*, supported by the lemma of the scholiast, read *gallica*, which Buecheler and Owen retain. This, however, leaves *altera* without point, though in emphatic position.

[4] See K. Dziatzko, *Untersuchungen über ausgewählte Kapitel des antiken Buchwesens*, Leipzig, 1900, pp. 131 f.

[5] Mart. XIV, 184, 186, 188, 190, 192, ; I, 2.

Thalia, libellos. **vigilataque proelia**: 'battle poems (i.e. epics) which have cost you sleep'; so Stat. *Silv.* IV, 6, 25 f. *vigilata Myroni aera.*

28. parva sublimia: see § 131 and note on I, 71.

29. venias: the copulative use of *venire* is by no means rare in Latin, especially in poetry which shows a marked colloquial element, e.g. Ovid, *Med. Form.* 48 *veniet rugis altera causa dolor;* id. *Am.* I, 10, 33; Mart. I, 52, 5 *adsertor venias.* In such cases, though *venire* is essentially a copula, the force of the verb of motion is more or less distinctly felt.[1] Cf. the auxiliary use of *venire* in Italian, and such English expressions as 'run wild,' 'go crazy,' 'fall ill.' **hederis**: a wreath of ivy, which was sacred to Bacchus, is the poet's reward; cf. Hor. *C.* I, 1, 29 *doctarum hederae praemia frontium.* Sometimes it was placed on the bust or statue of a poet; cf. Ovid, *Trist.* I, 7, 1 f.; Pers. prol. 5 f.

30. dives avarus: 9, 38 *mollis avarus;* 14, 111 *frugi avarus;* see § 54.

32. Iunonis avem: i.e. the peacock, as often in the poets.

33. cassidis: so *galeae* in 11, 6. On the genitive, see § 88.

35. Terpsichoren: see note on l. 7 *Clio.* **facunda**: commonly of poets, especially in Martial, who applies this epithet to Catullus, Vergil, Propertius, and Juvenal; see § 8. **et**: see § 74. **nuda**: see note on 5, 163. **senectus**: on the position, see § 122.

36–73. Your patron writes verses himself to avoid the necessity of buying yours, and at most lends you a vacant house for recitation and a few of his clients to applaud, leaving you to defray the incidental expenses. The true poet, however, needs a serene spirit in close communion with nature. Horace and Vergil could not have written as they did, if they had been worried with baser cares.

36. accipe: on the form of transition, see § 140, *a.*

37. Musarum et Apollinis aede: the poet has renounced his allegiance to the Muses and Apollo in order to attend upon his patron. This does not necessarily refer to the magnificent temple of Apollo on the Palatine, with its Greek and Latin libraries, dedicated by Octavian in 28 B.C.

39. mille: this looks like a round number, but is not far from dates usually assigned; e.g. Herodotus (II, 53) placed him about 840 B.C. and Vell. Paterc. I, 5, writing about 30 A.D., said (*Homerus*) *ferme ante annos* DCCCCL *floruit, intra mille natus est.*

40. succensus: on the metaphor, see § 127. **recites**: see note on I, 1.

[1] Cf. Serv. *Geo.* I, 29 '*venias*' *autem aliqui pro* '*sis*' *accipiunt* . . . '*ire*' *veteres pro* '*esse*' *dicebant;* see Rothstein on Prop. I, 5, 31 and 4, 10.

Maculonis: possibly a former owner whose name the house still bears; cf. the house of Hortensius taken by Augustus (Suet. 72).[1]

41. longe: probably never used in a temporal sense, though *longum* (= *diu* in Stat. *Ach.* I, 373), *longius* and *longus* often are, e.g. 8, 47 *gaudia longa*. Cf. Mart. III, 58, 51 *domus longe*, 'a house out of town,' and see § 65.

42. sollicitas: *propter incursionem hostium* (schol.); cf. Verg. *Aen.* VII, 617 *tristisque recludere portas*. **portas**: the gates of a city.[2]

44. comitum: see note on 1, 46. Clients applaud also in 13, 32 f.

45. regum: see note on 1, 136. On the ellipsis of *tantum*, see § 138, *c*. **quanti**: see § 94. **subsellia**: Tacitus describes the trouble and expense of giving a recitation in *Dial.* 9 *rogare ultro et ambire cogatur, ut sint qui dignentur audire, et ne id quidem gratis; nam et domum mutuatur et auditorium extruit et subsellia conducit et libellos dispergit.*

46. anabathra: the word (*ἀνάβαθρον*) occurs only here in Latin (§ 46, *a*) and probably means the tiers of seats in the rear, rising on scaffolding (*tigillo*). These as well as the benches in the body of the room (*subsellia*) and the chairs in front (*cathedrae*) are hired or borrowed for the occasion. **tigillo**: see §§ 41, 1, *d* and 49, *a*.

47. posita: i.e. *disposita;* see § 44.

48. hoc agimus: see note on 5, 157. **sulcos**: ploughing the sand is a common proverb for fruitless endeavor.

50. discedas: see § 108, *a*. **ambitiosi**: see note on 3, 182.

52. cacoethes: 'passion.' In Pliny and Celsus, the word means an acute disease; here, however, it is taken metaphorically, as *morbus* often is; see §§ 46, *a* and 147, *c*. **senescit**: 'becomes chronic.'

53. vatem: see note on 1, 18. **vena**: Hor. *C.* II, 18, 9 f. *ingeni benigna vena*. The source of the metaphor (§ 127) is the same as in 10. 119 *ingenii fons;* cf. Ovid, *Trist.* III, 14, 34 (*ingenii*) *fons infecundus parvaque vena fuit.*

54. expositum: 'obvious.' **deducere**: commonly used of literary composition by a metaphor derived from spinning, e.g. Hor. *Epist.* II, 1, 225 *tenui deducta poemata filo;* Prop. I, 16, 41 *saepe novo deduxi carmina versu.*

55. feriat: literally in Plin. *N. H.* XXXIII, 44 *ut asses sextantario pondere ferirentur*. The same metaphor is seen in *percutere* (e.g. Apul. *Apol.* 38) and in English '*strike.*'

57. anxietate carens: Ovid, *Trist.* I, 1, 39 ff. *carmina proveniunt*

[1] The reading *maculosas* (Heinrich) or, better, *maculonsas* (Bywater, Friedl.) was in the text used by the scholiast (§ 34) and may be right.

[2] J. Jessen, l. l. p. 505, suggests that *portas* is a scribal error for *porcas*.

animo deducta sereno...carmina secessum scribentis et otia quaerunt... carminibus metus omnis obest. **acerbi**: see §§ 54 and 88.

58. inpatiens: instead of meaning, as usual, 'not able to suffer,' the word here means 'not suffering.' Similarly Val. Fl. 1, 295 f. *solus...inpatiens somni ductor manet.* See note on 10, 148. **silvarum**: Tac. *Dial.* 9 *poetis...in nemora et lucos, id est in solitudinem secedendum est;* see note on l. 8.

59. fontibus: on the case, see § 83, *b*. **neque enim**: see § 73.

60. thyrsum: its touch produced the Bacchic frenzy, which was often associated with poetic inspiration. Cf. Horace quoted below on l. 62.

61. paupertas: see § 124, *a*. **nocte dieque**: see note on 3, 105.

62. Horatius 'euhoe': cf. Hor. *C.* II, 19, 5 ff. *euhoe, recenti mens trepidat metu plenoque Bacchi pectore turbidum laetatur: euhoe, parce Liber, parce, gravi metuende thyrso.*

63. quis: see § 62, *a*.

64. dominis: on the dative, see G.-L. § 354, N. 1; Lane, § 1216. The lord of Cirrha, the port of Delphi, was Apollo (13, 79 *Cirrhaei vatis*) and the lord of Nysa was Bacchus, both of them regarded as sources of the poetic fire.

66. paranda: see note on 3, 224.

67. currus et equos: epic poetry is suggested; see note on l. 27 *proelia*.

68. Rutulum: see note on 1, 162. In Verg. *Aen.* VII, 341 ff. the Fury Allecto comes to goad Turnus to madness.

69. desset: see note on 3, 303, and on the tense, § 72, *a* (2).

70. hospitium: see note on 3, 166. **crinibus**: i.e. of Allecto; cf. Verg. *Aen.* VII, 450 *geminos erexit crinibus anguis.*

71. gemeret grave bucina: cf. 2, 90 and Verg. *Aen.* VII, 519 f. *bucina signum dira dedit.* **poscimus ut**: see § 102.

72. Lappa: a type of the contemporary tragic poet (§ 24), Atreus being a tragedy. **cothurno**: see note on 8, 191 and § 57, *d*.

73. alveolos: cf. 5, 88. **laenam**: see note on 3, 283.

74–97. The rich have money for their own pleasures, but none for the poor poet, who does not live by praise alone. Statius with all his popularity was never able to sell his epics. In these days an actor's influence is worth more than that of all the nobles. Times have changed.

74. Numitor: a type of *dives avarus* (l. 30); the name also in 8, 93, but see § 24. **quod mittat**: cf. *quod donet* (l. 75); see note on 3, 45.

75. Quintillae: i.e. *amicae;* cf. 3, 133 and 4, 20.

76. leonem: wild animals were tamed and kept by many rich Romans; cf. Stat. *Silv.* II, 5, on the death of Domitian's tame lion.

77. leviori: on the form, see § 39. **sumptu**: on the case, see § 94.

79. Lucanus: M. Annaeus Lucanus (39–65 A.D.), a Spaniard by birth, rose to prominence through the favor of Nero, and was made quaestor and augur; but finally, becoming implicated in the conspiracy of Piso (note on 5, 109), was compelled to die together with his uncle L. Annaeus Seneca, the philosopher, and others. His principal extant work is the *Pharsalia*, an epic in ten books. **hortis marmoreis**: see notes on 1, 12, 75. The point is that Lucan, unlike most poets, was rich.

80. Serrano: an epic poet who died early. Saleius Bassus, also a poet, received a large sum from Vespasian.[1] **tenui**: of narrow means.

82. curritur: see note on 3, 235 *dormitur*.

83. Thebaidos: P. Papinius Statius (c. 40–96 A.D.), a Neapolitan by birth, spent fourteen years at Rome under Domitian, who held him in high esteem. He won prizes for poetic recitation at Naples and at Domitian's Alban villa, but failed in the more important *agon Capitolinus* at Rome.[2] The *Thebais* is a rather tedious, though in some respects admirable epic in twelve books, modelled after the Aeneid. His other extant works are *Silvae*, occasional poems, in five books, and *Achilleis*, an epic broken off in the second book, presumably by the poet's death.

84. diem: i.e. for recitation; see note on 1, 1.

86. subsellia: see note on l. 46. The auditors in their unrestrained enthusiasm damage the furniture; cf. Sid. Apoll. quoted on 1, 116.

87. esurit: see § 45. **Paridi**: there were two well-known actors of this name in the first century, one under Nero, the other under Domitian; the latter was put to death in 83 A.D. on account of his intimacy with the empress. Here, however, the name may be merely typical for *mimus;* cf. 6, 87 and see § 24. **Agaven**: a pantomime not yet acted on the stage (*intactam*). Agave tore her son Pentheus in pieces for contempt of Bacchus. There is no reason to believe that Statius employed himself to any extent in writing for the stage.

88. ille: i.e. the actor. On the connection of ll. 88–92 with the story of Juvenal's banishment, see § 15. **militiae**: sc. *equestris*, i.e. the post of *tribunus legionis;* see note on 1, 58. Men who were not of equestrian birth could obtain the rank by being appointed to the tribuneship of a legion, an office which after six months, either with or without service, entitled the holder to the knight's ring (*semenstri auro*) and all other equestrian privileges. In this instance the actor's influence with the emperor secures the appointment. See notes on l. 14; 3, 154.

89. vatum: see note on 1, 18. **auro**: see § 129, *c* and note on 1, 28.

[1] Quintil. x, 1, 89 f.; Tac. *Dial.* 9.

[2] Cf. *Silv.* v, 2, 161; ib. 3, 215, with Vollmer's notes.

90. Camerinos: cognomen of two consuls of the *gens Sulpicia* (9 and 46 A.D.), used here and in 8, 38 as a type of the noble.

91. Baream: see note on 3, 116.

92. praefectos . . . tribunos: see notes on l. 88 and 1, 58. **Pelopea . . . Philomela**: characters represented by the actor in pantomime.

94. Maecenas: the prime minister of Augustus and patron of Horace (note on 1, 66), his brother-in-law C. Proculeius, Paullus Fabius Maximus, to whom Ovid wrote *Pont.* 1, 2, and III, 3, Aurelius Cotta, and Lentulus, who cannot be identified among the many of that name in the noble *gens Cornelia*, are types of the patrons of former days. See note on 5, 109.

97. pallere: through devotion to literary labor; cf. Plin. *Ep.* VI, 2, 2 *pallebat, scribebat, quamvis non posset ediscere*; Pers. prol. 4 *pallidamque Pirenen.* **decembri**: the Saturnalia, the Roman prototype of our Christmas festival, began on December 17th. The celebration was limited by Augustus to three days, but was later extended to five.[1]

98–104. The historian is no better off than the poet, though his work consumes so much more time and material.

99. perit: a passive form of the common proverb (§ 143) *oleum et operam perdere* (Plaut. *Poen.* 332). Cf. Cic. *Att.* II, 17, 1 *ne et opera et oleum philologiae nostrae perierit*, and see notes on 1, 18 and 51.

100. modo: 'limit.' **pagina**: see note on 1, 5.

102. rerum: the historian is commonly *rerum scriptor.* **iubet**: see § 124, *c.* **operum lex**: Hor. *A. P.* 135 *unde pedem proferre pudor vetet aut operis lex.*

104. acta: sc. *diurna populi Romani* (Tac. *Ann.* XVI, 22); cf. 2, 136: 6, 483; 9, 84. This was founded by Caesar, and served the purpose of a daily newspaper in publishing events which were of general interest.[2]

105–149. The advocate makes a show of wealth, but in reality it would take the fees of a hundred advocates to pay one jockey. He pleads in court and receives in return some second-class provisions. If he is rich, however, he commands a larger fee; hence many an advocate bankrupts himself to keep up appearances. The poor man, however eloquent, is never given a fair chance.

105. sed . . . umbra: the words of an imaginary speaker with regard to the historian, and perhaps also to the poet (ll. 36–97). Cf. Ovid, *A. A.* III, 542 *contempto colitur lectus et umbra foro*, and see note on l. 8.

[1] C. I. L. 1^2, p. 337; Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, p. 268. [2] Suet. *Iul.* 20; Petron. 53.

106. civilia . . . officia: common at this period for the services rendered by the pleader in court, e.g. Quintil. XII, 2, 6 (of philosophers) *a civilibus officiis atque ab omni munere oratoris recessit.* In Cicero this special force is usually absent, but cf. *Mil.* 12 *propter hos officiosos labores meos non nulla apud bonos gratia.* See also notes on 3, 239 and 10, 45.

107. comites: see § 47, *b.* **libelli:** 'briefs'; cf. Quintil. X, 7, 31 *libellos* (outline), *qui vel manu teneantur et ad quos interim respicere fas sit.* For *libellus* 'petition,' see note on 14, 193.

108. magna sonant: 6, 517 *grande sonat;* see § 81. **sed:** see § 76.

109. illo: i.e. *creditore.* The advocate exaggerates the amount of his fees either before his own creditor or before a man who comes to secure the collection of a bad debt (*dubium nomen;* cf. Cic. quoted on l. 129). By this means he hopes to get more for his services.[1]

111. folles: metaphorically of the boaster, as in Hor. *Sat.* I, 4, 19 and Pers. 5, 11; cf. the familiar expression 'windbag' and see note on 11, 34.

112. conspuiturque sinus: a charm to avert the wrath of Nemesis, who punished boastfulness; cf. Petron. 74. Some editors interpret 'is spluttered over' (Lewis), gaining support in the prefix (*con-*). **messem:** cf. l. 103.

113. patrimonia: see note on 1, 138.

114. russati: see notes on 3, 223; 5, 143; 11, 198. **Lacertae:** evidently a jockey of the *factio russata.* C. Annius Lacerta is the name of a driver represented on an ancient Roman lamp which is now at Munich.[2] Enormous prizes were won by the jockeys; sums ranging from 30,000 to 60,000 sesterces are commonly mentioned in inscriptions.[3]

115. consedere duces: a parody of Ovid, *Met.* XIII, 1 f. *consedere duces et . . . surgit ad hos . . . Aiax,* in which is described the unsuccessful contest of Ajax with Ulysses for the arms of Achilles; see notes on 8, 269; 10, 84. This was a common subject of debate in the rhetorical schools; see note on 1, 16.

116. dicturus: see § 118, *a.* **libertate:** the case in question is a *vindicatio in libertatem* or *causa liberalis* (Cic. *Flacc.* 40) to determine whether one held as a slave should go free. **bubulco:** i.e. uncultivated; cf. our similar use of 'bucolic.' See also § 47, *b.*

118. palmae: successful advocates were honored with palms hung at their doors; cf. Mart. VII, 28, 6 (to an advocate) *excolat et geminas plurima palma fores.*

[1] So Madvig, *Opusc.* II, 179 f.; Friedl., however, following the scholiast, thinks of a banker who doubts the advocate's ability to meet his obligations.

[2] C.I.L. XV, 6250. The reading of *P* and of the scholiast, *lacernae*, is defended by A. Gudeman, Class. Rev., XIV, 1900, p. 158.

[3] See Ruggiero, s. v. *agitator.*

119. petasunculus . . . epimenia: on Greek words in Juvenal, see § 46, *a*.

121. devectum: only inferior wines came down the Tiber, e.g. *vile Sabinum* (Hor. *C.* I, 20, 1). The better brands came from the South; see note on 5, 89 *subvexit*. With ll. 119–121 cf. Pers. 3, 73 ff.

122. egisti: sc. *causam;* so l. 143; 13, 32; 16, 49. **aureus:** a gold coin worth 100 sesterces, or about five dollars.

123. pragmaticorum: the *causidicus*, knowing little law (Quintil. XII, 3, 1–4), relied for his arguments on the *pragmaticus* or *iurisconsultus*.

124. quantum licet: i.e. by law. In republican times advocates were not allowed to receive pay for their services, but Claudius fixed 10,000 sesterces as the maximum. *Aemilius* is a typical name for patrician; see § 24. **et:** adversative; see § 74. **nos:** cf. I, 15 f.[1]

125. currus: the triumphal statue of a former Aemilius (cf. 8, 3, 143 f.) and his own statue described in the next verses justify a large fee. See note on 13, 119.

127. curvatum: the point is uncertain. Does the slender shaft poised aloft bend of its own weight (Mayor), is *curvatum* used for *contortum* or *rotatum* (Friedl.), or is the statue in need of repairs (Duff)?

128. lusca: the colored stone used for the eyeball in bronze statues has fallen out of one eye; cf. schol. *cuius oculus introrsus cedit.*[2]

129. conturbat: sc. *rationes;* cf. Cic. *Planc.* 68 *me conturbare oportet an . . . hoc nomen . . . dissolvere.* In 14, 94 *turbare* is used in same sense. **Matho:** like Pedo and Tongilius, a typical name for a poor advocate, who cannot long keep up with rich rivals; see § 24. **exitus hic est:** C.I.L. VI, 9693, 5 *fortunam mirare meam, verum exitus hic est.*

130. Tongilii: see § 38.[3] **rhinocerote:** a horn flask of oil; cf. Mart. XIV, 52 (*guttus corneus*) *rhinocerota . . . putabas;* see note on 3, 263.

131. turba: sc. *comitum;* see note on 1, 46.

132. assere: see § 49, *a*, and notes on 1, 120; 3, 245. **Maedos:** a Thracian tribe.

133. empturus: on Juvenal's use of this participle, see § 118.

134. spondet: 'goes his security.' **stlattaria:** from *stlatta* a 'piratical ship.' Hence 'imported,' and so 'expensive' (cf. 14, 187 f. *peregrina purpura*); or from the tactics of pirates, 'deceptive' (so Probus, *illecebrosa;* see § 34).[4]

135. vendit: 'gets him his price' (Lewis), 'gives him vogue'; cf. Hor. *Epist.* II, 1, 75 *venditque poema* (*versus paullo concinnior*).

[1] On this slight basis F. I. Merchant, Am. Jour. Phil., XXII, 1901, pp. 54 f., bases his belief that Juvenal was an advocate by profession, before he began to write satire.

[2] So Friedl.; with less probability Mayor thinks that one eye is closed in taking aim.

[3] This is read only in *cod. Bodl.*

[4] On *stlatta*, see A.L.L. IX, 291.

136. amethystina: sc. *vestimenta*. Cf. Plin. *N. H.* IX, 135.

140. dederit: on mood and tense, see G.-L. § 596, 1 ; Lane, § 2090.

142. comites: see note on 1, 46. **an**: see § 98, *a*. **togati**: see note on 1, 96.

143. conducta: in 6, 352 f. Ogulnia attends the games with clothing and servants hired for the occasion. **Paulus**: for this and the following names, see § 24. **agebat**: see note on l. 122.

144. sardonyche: feminine also in Pers. 1, 16, but masculine in 6, 382 and in Martial. Cf. 13, 139.

145. rara . . . panno: Juvenal likes to put in brief form the substance of a previous statement; cf. 8, 124 and see § 37.

146. flentem . . . matrem: even Cicero did not despise such devices to win the sympathy of the jury; cf. *Orat.* 131; *Font.* 46 f.

148. Gallia: 15, 111 *Gallia . . . facunda ;* cf. ll. 213 f.; 1, 44. Africa also had felt the influence of Roman education, and in the second century produced writers of the first rank. **nutricula**: see § 41, 1, *c*.

149. ponere: for *inponere*, which is actually read in *pω*: see § 44.

150–214. The teacher of declamation fares no better for all his patient toil and is held responsible for the stupidity of the pupil, who refuses to pay his fee till compelled by law. Men have costly houses and expensive servants, but regard a trifle as too much for the teacher of their sons. A few have made money, but only by fortune's caprice. Once a teacher was held in awe by his pupils; now he may even suffer personal violence at their hands.

150. declamare: see note on 1, 16. **ferrea**: 1, 31 *tam ferreus, ut teneat se.* **Vetti**: i.e. *rhetoris;* see §§ 24 and 38.

151. numerosa: in this later sense again 10, 105 ; in the classical period it means 'rhythmical,' 'melodious,' e.g. *numerosa et apta oratio* (Cic. *Orat.* 168).

152. sedens: they sat to read, but stood to declaim ; cf. Plin. *Ep.* VI, 6, 6 *dicenti . . . adsistit, adsidet recitanti.* **haec eadem**: see § 61, *a*.

154. crambe repetita: proverbial ; see §§ 37, 143 and cf. our 're-hash.'

155. color: technical term for the most favorable light in which the acts of the accused could be presented, the palliation ; cf. 6, 280.[1] **causae genus**: Auct. *ad Herenn.* 1, 3, 5 *genera causarum sunt quattuor: honestum, turpe, dubium, humile.*

156. quaestio: 'point at issue.' **diversae . . . sagittae**: arguments from the opposing side must be foreseen ; see § 127 and note on 13, 136.

158. mercedem . . . scio: the words of the pupil ; the rhetor's reply fol-

[1] See R. Hess, *zur Deutung der Begriffe,* '*sententia*,' '*divisio*,' '*color*' *bei Seneca*, Progr. Schneidemühl, 1900.

lows. *Appellare*, 'dun,' is rarely used with a non-personal object, e.g. Sen. *Dial.* IX, 11, 3 *adpellaverit natura* (sc. *ea*) *quae prior nobis credidit;* cf. 9, 64 ; Cic. *Phil.* II, 71 *appellatus es de pecunia.*

160. salit: of the heart-beat, Plaut. *Cist.* 551 *iam horret corpus, cor salit ;* Pers. 3, 111 *cor tibi rite salit ;* but here the heart is the seat of intellect. **Arcadico**: a Greek proverb for stolidity and rural simplicity, e.g. Philostr. *Apoll.* VIII, 7, 12 Ἀρκάδες ἀγροικότατοι ἀνθρώπων.

161. dirus: the standard epithet for Hannibal, e.g. Hor. *C.* III, 6, 36 ; ib. IV, 4, 42. The Hannibal of Juvenal is partly the creation of the rhetorical schools ; cf. 10, 167 and see note on 1, 16.

162. quidquid id: see note on 10, 122. **deliberat**: a technical term of the *suasoria*, e.g. Sen. *Suas.* 3 ff. **an**: see § 98, *a*. For the two occasions here referred to, cf. Liv. XXII, 51, 3 and XXVI, 11.

164. a tempestate: on the construction, see § 97, *c*.

165. quantum . . . accipe: the clause *ut . . . audiat* is taken both with the imperative and with *quid do*, 'ask what you will and you will be paid at once (if you can induce his father to hear him as often as I do), what wouldn't I give to bring it about' ? **quid do**: see § 70, *a*.

167. sophistae: teachers of declamation, usually *rhetores ;* see § 46, *a*.

168. veras: real cases instead of the imaginary *controversiae* (note on 1, 16), in which seduction (*raptor*), poisoning, ingratitude (l. 169), and miraculous cures (l. 170) play a prominent part.

170. veteres . . . caecos: see § 54 and note on 1, 132. **mortaria**: see § 123.[1]

171. sibi: see § 157. **rudem**: a metaphor from the gladiator, who received a wooden sword as the sign of his dismissal from service.

173. pugnam: i.e. *veras lites* (l. 168) ; cf. 16, 47 *pugnamus* and see § 127. **umbra**: see note on l. 8.

174. summula: see § 41, 1, *b*. **pereat**: see note on 1, 18. **tessera**: citizens whose names were on the official list received *tesserae frumentariae,* which entitled them to a small quantity of grain.[2]

175. tempta: on this substitute for protasis, see § 107.

176. Chrysogonus: a well-known singer (6, 74), while Polio was a player (6, 387). Music was more profitable than rhetoric.

177. artem: sc. *rhetoricam ;* cf. 6, 452 *Palaemonis artem* (sc. *grammaticam*). Theodorus of Gadara was the teacher of Tiberius and the author of several works.[3] **scindes**: cf. Mart. (quoted on l. 27).[4]

[1] See Jessen, l. l. p. 511.

[2] See Cagnat, *Cours d'Épig.*,[3] p. 334 f.

[3] Quintil. III, 1, 17 f.; Suet. *Tib.* 57.

[4] S. G. Owen, Class. Rev., IX, 1895, p. 346, defended *scindens*, the reading of *Pω* supported by the scholiast ; but *scindes*, Jahn's emendation, is now generally accepted.

178. balnea: Stat. *Silv.* I, 3, 43 ff. and I, 5, describes two such magnificent private baths. On the ellipsis, see § 138, *b*. **porticus**: see note on 4, 6.

179. anne: see § 98, *b*. **serenum**: cf. 13, 228 and see § 54.

182. Numidarum: yellow Numidian marble (giallo antico), the *flaventia saxa* of Statius (*Silv.* II, 2, 92), was much used in Rome.

183. cenatio: a dining-room on the south side for winter use.

184. quanticumque: see § 138, *b*. **fercula**: see note on 5, 120.

185. conponat . . . condit: on the change of mood, see § 136, *a*.

186. Quintiliano: cf. 6, 75, 280, schol. on 6, 452 and see § 13. The Spanish rhetor, M. Fabius Quintilianus, pupil of Remmius Palaemon (note on l. 215), devoted his best years to teaching, but late in life wrote the *Institutio Oratoria*, which is still extant.

187. ut multum: Mart. X, 11, 6 *lotam ut multum . . . togam;* Vopisc. *Aur.* 46, 4.

188. constabit: on the tense, see § 72, *c*, and on the construction, § 94.

190. transi: see note on 3, 114. **felix**: 'the lucky man,' like the Stoic *sapiens*, possesses all gifts; cf. Hor. *Epist.* I, 1, 106 f. *sapiens uno minor est Iove, dives, liber, honoratus, pulcher*, etc. See § 54.

192. lunam: Stat. *Silv.* V, 2, 28 *patricia luna*, an ivory crescent worn on the shoe as a mark of high birth. **alutae**: i.e. the shoe; in 14, 28, a purse. On the metonymy, see § 129, *c*.

193. iaculator: *ioculator*, the new reading of *codex Bodl.* (§ 33), may be correct; cf. Cic. *Att.* IV, 16, 3 fin.

195. sidera: Juvenal's belief in the effect of the planets on human life seems perfectly genuine. The sepulchral inscriptions show that this belief was widespread; see § 17.

198. haec eadem: see § 61, *a*. **de consule rhetor**: cf. Plin. *Ep.* IV, 11, 1 f. (*Valerius Licinianus*) *eo decidit, ut exul de senatore, rhetor de oratore fieret.* As a rhetor in Sicily he opened his first lecture with the bitter words: *quos tibi, Fortuna, ludos facis? facis enim ex senatoribus professores, ex professoribus senatores.*

199. Ventidius: a classical type of the man who rose from the lowest to the highest station. P. Ventidius Bassus was brought to Rome as a child and led among the captives in the triumph of Cn. Pompeius Strabo (89 B.C.), but was made consul (43 B.C.) and celebrated a triumph for victories over the Parthians (38 B.C.). King Servius **Tullius**, the son of a female slave, was a similar type: cf. 8, 259. **anne**: see § 98, *b*.

200. sidus: see § 138, *a* and note on l. 195. **fati**: see § 17.

201. servis: like Tullius. **captivis**: like Ventidius.

202. felix: see note on l. 190. **corvo . . . albo**: the proverbial *rara*

avis (§ 143) ; cf. 6, 165 ; Cic. *Fam.* VII, 28, 2 *avem albam ; Anth. Pal.* XI, 436 λευκοὺς κόρακας.

203. sterilisque cathedrae : Mart. I, 76, 14 *steriles cathedras.*

204. Lysimachi : *rhetoris apud Athenas qui suspendio perit* (schol.). **Secundi :** Juvenal supplements Dio's statement (LIX, 20, 6) that Carrinas was banished by Caligula for treason.

206. gelidas . . . cicutas : the deadly draught which Socrates also was compelled to drink; cf. 13, 186. On the use of the adjective, see § 58.

207. tenuem . . . terram : sc. *date ;* this is a variation of the common formula of epitaphs *sit tibi terra levis ;* cf. Prop. I, 17, 24 *ut mihi non ullo pondere terra foret.*[1]

208. spirantisque crocos : the decoration of graves and funeral urns with flowers was usual ; cf. e.g. Prop. I, 17, 22 *tenera poneret ossa rosa*[2] and the epitaph *et cingant suaves ossa sepulta rosae.*[3] *Spirantis* lacks the usual accusative, as in Stat. *Silv.* III, 3, 211 *semper odoratis spirabunt floribus arae ;* cf. l. 111 and 2, 41. On the cadence, see p. lxix.

210. metuens virgae : see § 88. The education of Achilles by Chiron the Centaur on Mount Pelion was a common subject in literature and art ; cf. Hor. *Epod.* 13, 11 *nobilis ut grandi cecinit Centaurus alumno* and Stat. *Ach.* I.

211. cŭi : see note on 3, 49. **tunc :** in contrast with the present.

213. Rufum : *Gallus fuit et valde disertus* (schol.) ; see note on l. 148.

215–243. The schoolmaster also is underpaid, and in order to get any remuneration for his labor, has to share his fees with others. Yet he is expected not only to have all knowledge at his fingers' ends, but also to mould the characters of his pupils. In return, he receives at the end of the year a mere pittance.

215. gremio : see note on 1, 88. Q. Remmius Palaemon, probably the teacher of Persius and Quintilian, was one of the most able and original grammarians of the first century. His *ars grammatica* (6, 452), probably the first Roman school grammar, was the chief source of Quintilian's first book and served as a model for such treatises for centuries.[4] Celadus is unknown.

218. acoenonoetus : ἀκοινονόητος *'communi carens sensu'* (schol.), i.e without the fellow-feeling that unites mankind ; cf. 8, 73 and see § 46, *a*. The word of six syllables as a verse-ending is extremely rare (§ 153 end), but need not be changed to *acoenonetus,* 'sharing with nobody.'

[1] See W. Hartke, '*Sit Tibi Terra Levis*' *formulae quae fuerint fata*, Diss. Bonn, 1901.
[2] See Rothstein's note. [3] C.I.L. VI, 20466.
[4] Suet. *Gram.* 23 ; *vit. Pers. ;* schol. Iuv. 6, 452.

219. qui dispensat: i.e. *dispensator;* see note on 1, 91.

221. cadurci: the Cadurci, an Aquitanian people, were noted as the makers of bed coverings; cf. 6, 537 and Plin. *N. H.* XIX, 13 *in culcitis praecipuam gloriam Cadurci obtinent.*[1] **dummodo non**: see § 110. **pereat**: see note on 1, 18. **mediae . . . noctis**: 14, 190 *media de nocte;* an exaggeration, though the Roman school began before daylight. Cf. l. 225; Ovid, *Am.* 1, 13, 13; Mart. IX, 68, 3 *nondum cristati rupere silentia galli* (school begun).

224. ferro: i.e. the carding comb; see § 129, *c.*

226. stabant pueri: contrast *sedisti* in l. 223.

227. Flaccus . . . Maroni: by this time Horace and Vergil were text books for every Roman schoolboy; see § 26. Friedl. thinks of busts of the poets as ornaments of the room, but cf. schol. *codex Horatii et Vergilii, in quibus legebant.* **fuligo**: from the lamps.

228. cognitione tribuni: the judicial functions of the tribune in such cases are not clearly defined.[2]

230. regula verborum: i.e. the rules of grammar; cf. 6, 453 ff. and Quintil. 1, 2, 14 (*grammaticus*) *si de loquendi ratione disserat, si quaestiones explicet, historias exponat, poemata enarret.*

231. historias: 6, 450; Sen. *Ep.* 88, 3 *grammaticus circa curam sermonis versatur, et, si latius evagari vult, circa historias.*

232. ungues digitosque: for a similar proverb, see note on 1, 7 and § 143.

233. Phoebi balnea: not elsewhere mentioned.

234. nutricem Anchisae: some of the unanswerable questions put to schoolmasters by the emperor Tiberius were *quae mater Hecubae, quod Achilli nomen inter virgines fuisset, quid Sirenes cantare sint solitae* (Suet. 70). Quintilian, however, said that it was a virtue for a schoolmaster *aliqua nescire* (1, 8, 21).

235. Anchemoli: Verg. *Aen.* X, 389. **Acestes**: the host of Aeneas in Sicily; cf. Verg. *Aen.* V, 73 *aevi maturus Acestes.* **annis**: see § 92.

236. vini: Verg. *Aen.* 1, 195 *vina bonus . . . cadis onerarat Acestes.*

237. pollice ducat: of modelling in wax; Pers. 5, 40 *tuo ducit sub pollice vultum;* Ovid, *Met.* X, 285 *tractataque pollice* (*cera*).

240. vicibus: Stat. *Silv.* IV, 9, 50 *tu me vicibus domi salutes.* This rare equivalent for *in vicem* (cf. 6, 311) may be a short form of *vicibus factis* (Ovid, *Fast.* IV, 353) or *mutatis.*

242. inquit: see note on 3, 153.

243. victori: not the victor in the races, who often received an im-

[1] O. Hirschfeld, C.I.L. XIII, p. 206.

[2] Greenidge, *Roman Public Life*, London, 1901, pp. 371 and 448, following Mommsen, sees here evidence for the survival of the old veto on appeal in civil cases.

mense sum (note on l. 114). The scholiast interprets *ut in theatro solent petere, quinque aureos, nam non licebat amplius dare*, but this leaves the force of *victor* unexplained.

SATIRE VIII

THE VANITY OF NOBLE BIRTH

The eighth satire, though marked by fine passages, cannot be called one of Juvenal's best efforts. The thesis that noble birth is worthless, unless adorned by noble character, is worked out from various points of view with a wealth of illustration and excess of rhetorical commonplace. In a series of examples, drawn chiefly from Roman history, the writer sets the vices and crimes of aristocrats over against the virtues and great achievements of plebeians. This picture, of course, like many of Juvenal's pictures, is one-sided; the satirist selected material to suit his purpose. Both parallel and contrast are furnished by the fourth satire of Persius, which is worked out from the Stoic point of view.

Here again Juvenal's characteristic lack of sense for proportion is evident (§ 36). From an exhortation to a provincial governor to show his real nobility by a just and honest administration, the author is led into a long digression (ll. 94–126) on provincial misgovernment, which certainly has no direct connection with the main thesis (§ 141). A really good appreciation of the public services of Cicero, Marius, and others concludes the satire.

1. stemmata: 'pedigrees.' The *imagines*, arranged against the walls of the *atrium*, were connected by painted lines to show the family tree. **quid faciunt:** 'what is the good of—?' Petron. 14 *quid faciant leges, ubi sola pecunia regnat?* **Pontice:** unknown; see § 24. **longo sanguine:** cf. l. 40 *alto stemmate*.

2. censeri: cf. l. 74. **pictos . . . vultus:** i.e. *imagines*, the wax masks of ancestors, found in every noble house.

3. stantis in curribus: see note on 7, 125. **Aemilianos:** like *Curios* and other names following, typical of noble ancestors; cf. 2, 3, 153 f. Names in *-anus* indicated adoption in republican times; e.g. the son of L. Aemilius Paulus, the conqueror of Perseus, adopted by P. Cornelius Scipio, was called P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus. But this custom died out under the empire. See §§ 24, 50.

4. dimidios: of the ravages of time, as in 15, 5; cf. 13, 95 (note); 15, 56 f. *vultus dimidios* (in a fight). **umeros:** cf. l. 16 *lumbum;* the accusative of the part affected is poetic and rare in Latin. See G.-L. § 338, 1.

5. Corvinum: see note on 1, 108. **Galbam**: the emperor Galba claimed for the *gens Sulpicia* descent from Jupiter and Pasiphae (Suet. 2). **auriculis**: see § 41, 1, *e*.

7. virga: a branch of the stemma, like *ramus* in Pers. 3, 28; see note on l. 1 and § 49, *b*. **contingere**: cf. 11, 62.

8. fumosos: Sen. *Ep.* 44, 5 *atrium plenum fumosis imaginibus.* The smoke from the hearth-fire did its work on the wax masks.

9. Lepidis: cf. 6, 265 and see note on l. 3; Val. Max. II, 9 init. *quid enim prodest foris esse strenuum, si domi male vivitur?* **quo**: 'to what purpose' (often with *mihi* or *tibi*), in excited questions with a kind of exclamatory accusative, infinitive, or accusative with infinitive; cf. ll. 142, 144; 14, 135; 15, 61; see § 138, *b*. On the cadence, see p. lxix.

10. alea: see note on 1, 88. **pernox**: see § 55 and cf. Sen. *Med.* 787 ff. *currus...pernox agitat* (*Trivia*).

11. Numantinos: see note on l. 3. This title was given to Scipio Aemilianus for his conquest of Numantia (133 B.C.).

13. Allobrogicis: a title of Q. Fabius Maximus, consul in 151 B.C., the conqueror of the Allobroges; see note on l. 38. **magna ... ara**: the ancient *ara maxima Herculis* in the *forum Boarium*, either founded by Hercules himself or dedicated to him by Evander.[1] The *gens Fabia* claimed descent from Hercules.

14. Herculeo: cf. Ovid, *Fast.* II, 237 ff. *Herculeae...gentis...Fabia gente;* Sidney, *Apol. for Poetrie*, p. 62, 28 (Shuckburgh) 'though you be *libertino patre natus*, you shall suddenly grow *Herculea proles*.' **lare**: i.e. *domo;* see note on 3, 110. On the cadence, see § 153, VI.

15. Euganea: the Euganei dwelt near the Alps, north of Patavium. **mollior agna**: in Mart. V, 37, 2 of a girl; see note on 1, 22.

16. Catinensi: pumice-stone, used to remove superfluous hair, usually came from Catina in Sicily.[2] **lumbum**: see note on l. 4 *umeros*.

17. squalentes: see note on 4, 103 *barbato*. **traducit**: see note on 7, 16. **emptorque veneni**: cf. 9, 100; 13, 154.

18. frangenda ... imagine: the likeness of a criminal would not be allowed to appear among the *imagines* (note on l. 2); cf. Suet. *Ner.* 37 *obiectum est...Cassio Longino...quod in vetere gentili stemmate C. Cassi percussoris Caesaris imagines retinuisset.* See § 119.

20. virtus: the subject; cf. Bacchyl. 1, 159 f. *φαμὶ καὶ φάσω μέγιστον κῦδος ἔχειν ἀρετάν.* Duff cites Tennyson ''tis only noble to be good.'[3]

21. Paulus, Cossus, Drusus: see notes on ll. 3 and 40; 3, 184 and 238.

[1] Ovid, *Fast.* 1, 581; Plin. *N. H.* XXXIV, 33; Tac. *Ann.* XV, 41.
[2] See A. Sonny, A.L.L. VIII, p. 486.
[3] See Blakeney, Class. Rev., XII, 1898, p. 209.

22. hos: sc. *mores;* in the same way *illi* in the next verse.

23. virgas: i.e. *fasces*, as in l. 136.

24. animi bona: 'good character'; cf. Cic. *Tusc.* v, 85 *tria genera bonorum, maxuma animi, secunda corporis, externa tertia.*

25. iustitiae: see § 88. On question for protasis, see G.-L. § 593, 4.

26. procerem: very rare in singular.[1] **Gaetulice**: see note on l. 3.

27. Silanus: of the ancient *gens Iunia.* **quocumque**: see § 63.[2]

28. civis: on the order of words, see § 124, *a.*

29. Osiri: *populus Aegypti invento Osiri dicit* εὑρήκαμεν συγχαίρομεν (schol.); cf. 6, 534 *plangentis populi.*

30. quis ... dixerit: cf. 2, 24 *quis tulerit*, and see G.-L. § 466.

32. insignis: see § 138, *a.* **Atlanta**: see note on 13, 48.

33. extortam: to be taken in the sense of *distortam.*

38. metues: see § 139. **Creticus**: 2, 67; a cognomen of several of the Caecilii Metelli, who could boast also a Macedonicus, a Dalmaticus, a Balearicus, and a Numidicus; see note on l. 3. **Camerinus**: see note on 7, 90.

40. Blande: a type of the degenerate noble. He cannot be identified, though several of the family are known. In 33 A.D. one C. Rubellius Blandus married Iulia, daughter of Drusus, and granddaughter of Tiberius; hence *Drusorum, Iuli* (l. 42),[3] and *plenumque Nerone* (l. 72). **stemmate**: see note on l. 1, end.

42. Iuli: Verg. *Aen.* I, 288 *Iulius a magno demissum nomen Iulo.*

43. sub aggere texit: see note on 5, 153. For a similar picturesque touch, cf. Shakesp. *Twelfth Night*, II, 4, 45 'The spinsters and the knitters in the sun.'

44. volgi pars ultima: Luc. VI, 593 f. *non ultima turbae pars ego Romanae;* see note on 1, 26.

46. ast: see note on 3, 69. **Cecropides**: see note on 1, 100. Cecrops was the reputed founder of Athenian monarchy. **vivas**: cf. Hor. *Sat.* II. 5, 110 *vive valeque* (common formula of leave-taking), and the similar use of χαίρειν in dismissing a subject, e.g. Herodot. II, 118 Ὅμηρος μέν νυν καὶ τὰ Κύπρια ἔπεα χαιρέτω, 'so much for Homer,' etc.[4]

47. longa: of time, as in 6, 561; see note on 7, 41.

48. solet hic defendere: i.e. as *causidicus;* see note on 7, 106 f.

49. nobilis indocti: see § 54. **togata**: see note on 1, 96.

50. qui ... solvat: the *iurisconsultus;* see note on 7, 123.

[1] Neue, l. l. 1[3], p. 662.

[2] H. Richards, Class. Rev., XIII, 1899, pp. 19 f. would read *alto de sanguine rarus.*

[3] See *Pros. Imp. Rom.*, III, p. 136.

[4] See commentators on Pind. *Pyth.* 2, 67; W. v. Christ, l. l. pp. 126 f.

51. hic: sc. *de plebe.* **Euphraten . . . Batavi**: the E. and N. frontiers of the empire; see note on l. 169. The Batavi lived near the mouth of the Rhine.

53. Hermae: a stone pillar cut at the top to the shape of a human head and shoulders; cf. Apoll. Sidon. IV, 12, 3 *illum ipsum Hermam stolidissimum.* See § 83, *a.*

56. Teucrorum proles: see note on 1, 100. **animalia muta**: = 15, 143 *mutorum* (§ 54); cf. Isid. *Or.* 1, 39 *ficto animalium mutorum inter se colloquio.*

58. facili: cf. Tac. *H.* 1, 79 *miles facilis lorica*, i.e. 'agile because of (the lightness of) his breastplate.' *Facilis* is active in meaning, not passive as usual; cf. Eng. 'facile.' **palma**: of the hand, which is hot from applauding; cf. 13, 128 *plana faciem contundere palma.*[1]

59. victoria: 'the shout of victory'; cf. 9, 144 *clamoso circo;* 11, 197 *fragor aurem percutit.*

61. aequore: of the land in Ennius, *Ann.* 137 M. *tractatu' per aequora campi,* and not rarely in Vergil and later poets. **pulvis**: often of the race course, e.g. 10, 37; Verg. *Aen.* VII, 163 *domitantque in pulvere currus.* Hence *primus pulvis* means 'the first part of the course,' 'first position'; cf. Stat. *Th.* VI, 447 f. *iam pulvere quarto campum ineunt.* Some, however, take *pulvis* as dust raised by the horses' feet.

63. Hirpini: a race-horse, also in Mart. III, 63, 12. **rara**: see § 55.

64. ibi: *in equo* (gloss *p*); cf. *ibi* in 11, 176.

66. epiraedia: from *ἐπί* and *raeda* (§ 46, *b* and note on 3, 10); cf. Quintil. 1, 5, 68. It is usually translated 'traces,' but cf. gloss *p minora vehicula.*

67. segnipedes: perhaps only here; but cf. the common poetic *sonipes.* **versare**: see § 117. **nepotes**: cf. l. 62 *posteritas.*

68. aliquid da: see note on 3, 137.

69. titulis: on the meaning, see notes on 1, 129 and 5, 34.

72. plenumque Nerone: see note on l. 40 and for the case, § 95.

73. sensus communis: see note on 7, 218.

74. fortuna: 'rank,' as in 11, 176. **censeri**: cf. l. 2.

77. subductis: see note on 1, 15 and on mixed metaphor, § 127.

78. viduas . . . ulmos: cf. 6, 150; Hor. *C.* IV, 5, 30 *vitem viduas ducit ad arbores;* id. *Epist.* 1, 16, 3 *amicta vitibus ulmo.* The metaphor arose from the Italian custom of training vines on trees, especially elms.

81. incertae: see § 139. **Phalaris**: tyrant of Agrigentum in Sicily

[1] See W. v. Christ, l. l. p. 123. On the other hand, Heinrich, Mayor, Friedl. and Duff take *palma* as the palm branch awarded to the victor in the races, 'to whom falls many a hotly contested palm.'

(cf. 6, 486), who roasted human victims alive in a hollow brazen bull; hence l. 82 *admoto...tauro;* Pers. 3, 39 *Siculi gemuerunt aera iuvenci.* His name was proverbial for cruelty (§ 143).[1]

83. pudori: 'honor,' as in 16, 34; cf. Sall. *Cat.* 16, 2 *ubi eorum famam atque pudorem adtriverat.*

84. vivendi... causas: cf. 11, 11; Plin. *Ep.* 1, 12, 3 *vivendi causas ...optimam conscientiam, optimam famam, maximam auctoritatem.*

85. perit: for *periit;* see note on 3, 174.

86. Gaurana: *lacus Lucrinus*, near Mount Gaurus, was noted for its oysters; see note on 4, 140. **Cosmi:** a dealer in perfumes, often named by Martial. The name (*κόσμος*) is perhaps suggestive of the business; cf. 6, 477 *cosmetae* and see note on 10, 238. **toto:** see § 55.

88. accipiat: subjunctive after *cum* causal; see § 125, *d*.[2]

89. sociorum: 'provincials,' as in ll. 99, 108, 136.

90. vacuis exucta medullis: i.e. *vacua exuctis medullis;* cf. Catull. 66, 23 *exedit cura medullas;* Ovid, *Am.* II, 19, 43.

92. fulmine: often of condemnations, e.g. Plin. *Ep.* III, 11, 3 *amicis meis aut occisis aut relegatis...tot circa me iactis fulminibus.*

93. Capito: Cossutianus Capito, legatus of Cilicia, was condemned for extortion in 57 A.D., but later, reinstated at the request of his father-in-law Tigellinus (note on 1, 155), himself accused Antistius Sosianus and Thrasea Paetus (note on 5, 36).[3] Numitor is unknown; cf. 7, 74. **ruerint:** i.e. *corruerint* (§ 44); cf. Plin. *Ep.* III, 9, 34 *quod accusator eius praevaricationis crimine corruisset* and see note on 10, 268.

94. piratae Cilicum: Cic. *Verr.* II, 1, 154 *praedonum praedo...pirata nefarius.* Cilicia was notorious as a haunt of pirates. **quid damnatio confert:** see note on 1, 47.

95. praeconem: see note on 3, 33. **Chaerippus:** a provincial accuser, as Pansa and Natta are typical Roman governors; cf. 1, 50 and see § 24 and note on 4, 13.

97. naulum: i.e. *ναῦλον* (§ 46, *a*), Charon's obol; cf. Charon in Aristoph. *Ran.* 270 *ἔκβαιν', ἀπόδος τὸν ναῦλον*, and see note on 3, 267. It sounds like a proverb for 'last penny.'[4]

98. olim: see § 67, *c*. **neque vulnus:** see §§ 73, 127.

99. sociis: see note on l. 89.

100. omnis: on this rare caesura, see § 147, *c*.

101. Spartana... Coa: well-known purples; cf. 6, 260; Plin. *N. H.*

[1] See M. C. Sutphen, Am. Jour. Phil., XXII, 1902, p. 362.

[2] *Accipiet* (ω) is an easier reading; see § 109.

[3] Tac. *Ann.* XIII, 33; XVI, 21.

[4] Mayor's interpretation 'the passage money to Rome' has less point.

XXI, 45 *purpuras...Laconicas;* Hor. *C.* IV, 13, 13 *Coae...purpurae;* Ovid, *A. A.* II, 298 *Coa decere puta.*[1] **conchylia**: see note on 3, 81.

102. Parrhasii: a famous Athenian painter of about 400 B.C. On the form, see § 38. **Myronis**: the statuary of Eleutherae in Attica in the fifth century B.C., who worked chiefly in bronze; cf. Stat. *Silv.* IV, 6, 25 f. *vigilata Myroni aera.*

103. Phidiacum ... ebur: = *ebur Pisaeo* (i.e. *Phidiae*) *pollice rasum* of Statius, who in *Silv.* IV, 6, 25 ff. names also Myron, Praxiteles, Polyclitus (note on 3, 217) and Apelles as representative artists. Phidias, a worker in marble, ivory, and gold, supervised public works of art at Athens in the age of Pericles. **vivebat**: cf. Stat. *Silv.* IV, 6, 26 f. *vivant quae marmora caelo Praxitelis;* so *vivus*, e.g. ib. I, 3, 47 *varisque metalla viva modis*, and *spirare*, e.g. ib. IV, 6, 28; Verg. *Aen.* VI, 847. **nec non**: see note on 3, 204.

104. labor: 'work'; see § 49, *b*. **Mentore**: the famous chaser of silver, several times mentioned by Pliny and Martial.

105. Dolabella: cognomen in the *gens Cornelia;* any one of at least three men in the first century B.C. might be meant. The verse is unmetrical and therefore corrupt.[2] **hinc**: see note on 1, 65. C. **Antonius** Hybrida, uncle of the triumvir and consul with Cicero in 63 B.C. was guilty of this crime more than once.

106. sacrilegus: cf. Cic. *Verr.* act. I, 14 *delubra omnia...depeculatus est.* On Verres, see note on 3, 53. **altis**: 'heavily laden.'

107. occultā: final vowel long by position.[3] **plures de pace triumphos**: sc. *quam alii de hostibus.* The only point of comparison is in the amount of spoils brought home.

108. nunc: cf. l. 100 *tunc.* **sociis**: see note on l. 89.

112. pro summis: i.e. *pro simulacris summorum deorum;* they are the largest (*maxima*) now left. The Lares were *dei minores* in contrast to *dei maiores* like Juppiter, Apollo, etc.[4] Others interpret *pro summis*, 'in place of their former wealth.' On the cadence, see p. lxix.

114. resinata: Plin. *N. H.* XIV, 123 *maximum iam honorem eius* (i.e. *resinae*) *esse in evellendis virorum corpori pilis;* see note on l. 16.

116. Hispania, Gallicus: Tac. *H.* III, 53 *Gallias Hispaniasque, validissimam terrarum partem.* For the contrast with Corinth, cf. Mart. X,

[1] See Paton and Hicks, *Inscriptions of Cos*, p. xlvi.

[2] *Dolabellae* (Ruperti) makes the hiatus tolerable; cf. 6, 274 and see § 156.

[3] L. Müller, *De Re Metr.*[2], p. 390.

[4] See W. v. Christ, l. l. pp. 146 f.; Preller-Jordan, *röm. Mythol.* I[3], p. 69. For *summus* of the *dei maiores*, cf. Plaut. *Capt.* 863; Ovid, *Fast.* I, 608; Sen. *Med.* 531; Luc. I, 632; C.I.L. III, 1090; VI, 426.

65, 6 ff. *tu* (a Corinthian) *flexa nitidus coma vagaris, Hispanis ego contumax capillis; levis dropace* (i.e. *resina*) *tu cotidiano, hirsutis ego cruribus genisque.* **axis**: 'region,' as in 6, 470; 14, 42, and often.

117. latus: 'coast'; cf. Stat. *Silv.* IV, 4, 63 *Histrum servare latus.* **messoribus**: = *Afris;* cf. l. 120 and see note on 5, 119.

118. circo scaenaeque: Tac. *H.* I, 4 *plebs sordida et circo ac theatris sueta;* see notes on 3, 223; 10, 81.

120. tenuis: 'and made them poor'; see § 56. **Marius**: see note on 1, 49. **discinxerit**: *exspoliaverit* (gloss *p*). Money was carried in the girdle; cf. 14, 297; C. Gracchus in Gell. XV, 12, 4 *zonas, quas plenas argenti extuli, eas ex provincia inanes rettuli;* Verg. *Aen.* VIII, 724 *discinctos... Afros* (without reference to money).

124. spoliatis arma supersunt: see note on 7, 145 and § 139.

125. sententia: 'commonplace of rhetoric.' Striving for effect by the use of *sententiae* was characteristic of the period; cf. Quintil. VIII, 5, 2 etc. See § 37.[1]

126. folium . . . Sibyllae: Plin. *N. H.* XIII, 69 *in palmarum foliis primo scriptitatum;* according to Varro the Sibyl wrote her prophetic verses on this material.[2] Cf. Plaut. *Pseud.* 480 *Delphis tibi responsum dicito;* Ter. *And.* 698 *non Apollinis magis verum atque hoc responsumst.*

127. cohors comitum: the staff of a governor; see note on 3, 47.

128. acersecomes: i.e. *intonsus* (= ἀκερσεκόμης), the *puer delicatus* (notes on 3, 186; 5, 60), who might try to influence judicial decisions (*tribunal;* note on 10, 35). On Greek words, see § 46, *a.* **coniuge**: the wife who was to blame for her husband's misdeeds in the province was sometimes herself brought to trial; cf. Tac. *Ann.* III, 33; IV, 19 f.

129. conventus: in connection with the judicial business of a province, *conventus*, 'the court,' was transferred to mean either the city in which court sat, the district or circuit which it covered, or the time of the sitting; here probably the first.[3] **cuncta**: on the position, see § 124.

130. Celaeno: a Harpy in Verg. *Aen.* III, 211. **raptura**: see § 118.

131. Pico: reputed first king of the Laurentines; on such ancestry, see note on 1, 100. With this line begins the apodosis.

133. Promethea: see note on 4, 133.

136. virgas: see note on l. 23. **sociorum**: see note on l. 89.

138. contra te stare: see note on 3, 290.

139. facem: Sall. *Iug.* 85, 23 *maiorum gloria posteris quasi lumen est, neque bona neque mala eorum in occulto patitur.*

[1] See R. Hess (footnote on 7, 155).
[2] Serv. *Aen.* III, 444.
[3] See Kornemann, Pauly-Wiss., IV, 1173 ff.

140. tanto: see § 138, *c*. **conspectius**: see § 57, *c*.

142. quo mihi: see note on l. 9 and § 138, *b*. **falsas signare tabellas**: see notes on 1, 67 and 3, 82.

143. templis: wills as well as other valuables (cf. 14, 260) were often deposited in temples, where also the witnesses sometimes signed their names and affixed the seal; cf. Mart. x, 70, 7 *nunc ad luciferam signat mea gemma Dianam.* **parentis**: 'ancestor,' perhaps the same person as *avus;* cf. l. 138. See note on 7, 125.

144. quo: see note on l. 9. **nocturnus**: 'by night'; see § 55.

145. Santonico: the Santones were a Gallic tribe near the mouth of the Garumna; cf. Mart. XIV, 128, 1 *Gallia Santonico vestit te bardocucullo.* **velas adoperta**: Verg. *Aen.* III, 405 *purpureo velare comas adopertus amictu;* see § 26. **cucullo**: 6, 118 *nocturnos ... cucullos.*

146. maiorum cineres: Cic. *Mil.* 17 (*Clodius*) *in monumentis maiorum suorum sit interfectus,* i.e. on the *via Appia;* see note on 1, 171.

147. carpento: see § 46, *b*, and note on 3, 10. **Lateranus**: perhaps Plautius Lateranus (note on 10, 17), consul designatus in 65 A.D., put to death by Nero before he could enter on his office; cf. Tac. *Ann.* XV, 60.

148. ipse: see note on 1, 61, end. **mulio consul**: Claud. *Eutrop.* I, 8 *eunucho consule;* ib. 296 *spado consul;* 6, 118 *meretrix Augusta.*[1]

149. Luna ... sidera: 6, 311 *Luna teste;* Verg. *Aen.* IX, 429 *conscia sidera;* Val. Fl. VIII, 50 *sidera ... vident;* Stat. *Ach.* I, 643 f. *vidit chorus omnis ab alto astrorum et tenerae rubuerunt cornua Lunae.* Cf. Shakesp. *Othello,* IV, 2 'What committed? Heaven stops the nose at it and the moon winks.' **testes**: see § 47, *b*.

153. virga ... annuet: see note on 3, 318.

154. hordea: this plural, used by Verg. *Geo.* I, 210, is criticised by Quintil. I, 5, 16.

155. robum: *rufum* (schol.); cf. Festus (Paul., p. 359 Thew.) *robum rubro colore et quasi rufo significari, ut bovem quoque rustici appellant, manifestum est. Robus* and *lanatus* are archaic words preserved in sacrificial language.

156. Iovis ante altaria: soon after entering office the consuls offered sacrifice to Jupiter Latiaris on the Alban mount. In the early period a white bullock was the victim, but later it was permissible to substitute a red one; cf. Arnob. II, 68.

157. Eponam: *dea mulionum est* (schol.); cf. Ammian. XXVIII, 4, 30 (of loungers at the races), *per Ianos et Eponam clamitant saepe.* The Gallic origin of the goddess is shown by the provenience of extant repre-

[1] *P* reads *multo sufflamine consul*, emended by Buecheler; see § 31.

sentations as well as by the p = Lat. *qu* (cf. *equus*).[1] See § 46, *b*. **facies**: of the goddess.

158. sed: see § 76. **pervigiles**: see § 130. **instaurare**: *revisere* (gloss *p*), a very rare use; cf. 15, 74 *pugnam instaurare*.[2]

159. adsiduo: 'everlasting.' **Syrophoenix**: a term of contempt; cf. Lucil. xv, 11 M. *sacer ille τοκογλύφος ac Syrophoenix*.[3]

160. Idymaeae ... portae: probably a proper name for some quarter of the city which we cannot now identify.

161. regem: see note on 1, 136; cf. Mart. x, 10, 5 (quoted on 3, 185).

162. Cyane: the hostess; see note on 10, 238. **succincta**: of waiters, e.g. Hor. *Sat.* II, 6, 107 *veluti succinctus cursitat hospes*; cf. 4, 24.

163. dicet: Owen now reads *dicit* with *Bodl.* (§ 33). **fecimus ... iuvenes**: Plaut. *Bacch.* 410 *feci ego istaec itidem in adulescentia.*

165. quod ... audes: on accusative with *audere*, see § 82.

166. prima ... barba: see notes on 3, 186 and 4, 103.

167. Lateranus: see note on l. 147. On asyndeton, see § 137.

168. thermarum calices: the bath, as a place of public resort, had what we should call a 'bar' or 'refreshment room.' **inscriptaque lintea**: advertising signs before the *popinae*.

169. Armeniae Syriaeque: the Euphrates and Tigris, like the Rhine and the Danube, were the frontiers of the Empire; see note on l. 51 and cf. l. 265. **tuendis amnibus**: see § 83, *b* (4).

171. valet: with infinitive; see § 116, *f*. **Ostia**: accusative plural. The form *Ostia*, *-ae* was probably preferable in the early period, but the plural is found in classical authors and is far more common in inscriptions.[4] Ostia was the seaport whence Lateranus might embark.

173. iacentem: i.e. *accumbentem*; see note on 3, 82 and cf. Sen. *Dial.* IV, 33, 4 *eo die ... iacebat conviva centesimus.*

174. furibus ac fugitivis: 'robbers and runaways'; see § 135.

175. sandapilarum: rude biers for the poor; cf. Fulg. *Expos. Serm. Ant.* 1 (p. 111, Helm).

176. tympana: the *gallus* or priest of Cybele, here in a drunken stupor,

[1] She is either on horseback or in some way associated with horses; see S. Reinach, Rev. Arch., XXXIII, 1898, pp. 187–200; ib. XXXV, 1900, pp. 260–1; Am. Jour. Arch., V, 1901, p. 360; Lanciani, *New Tales of Old Rome*, 1901, p. 181.

[2] C. F. W. Müller in Friedl. keeps the usual sense for *instaurare* by translating *popinas* 'Schlemmereien,' i.e. 'carousals'; but the following verse makes this unlikely.

[3] L. Müller comments (p. 238) *Syrophoenix: h. e. qui pariter Syrorum nequitiam ac vilitatem et Phoenicum avaritiam et perfidiam exhiberet.* See J. Jessen, Philologus, LIX, 1900, p. 518.

[4] Dessau, C.I.L. XIV, p. 4.

regularly used *tympana* (cf. 6, 515) or *cymbala* (cf. 9, 62) in the wild rites of the *Magna Mater;* see notes on 3, 64 and 138.

177. communia pocula: cf. 6A, 14 (p. 41) *communem calicem.*

178. remotior: on comparison of participles, see § 57, *c.*

180. Lucanos: sc. *agros,* 'your Lucanian farm'; the masculine plural without a substantive is common in this sense, e.g. Plin. *Ep.* II, 15, 1 *quo modo te veteres Marsi tui ?...placent agri, postquam tui facti sunt?* ib. IV, 1, 3 *deflectemus in Tuscos.* **Tusca ergastula:** cf. 11, 80; 14, 24; Mart. IX, 22, 4 *sonet innumera compede Tuscus ager;* schol. on 6, 151 *ergastula proprie dicuntur loca, in quibus ad poenam vincti homines opus faciunt.* Banishment to the country was a common punishment for slaves in the comedy.

181. Troiugenae: see note on 1, 100.

182. turpia cerdoni: cf. 4, 13 f. and see note on 4, 153. **Volesos:** like Brutus, a noble old name of Rome; see §§ 24, 50 and note on l. 3.

185. vocem . . . locasti: 6, 380 *vocem vendentis praetoribus.* From the time of Augustus the praetors had charge of the performances in circus and theatre; cf. 14, 257 and see notes on l. 194; 10, 36. **Damasippe:** unknown; see § 24.

186. sipario: the curtain, which cut off the back part of the stage, suggests the pantomime to be played in front of it; cf. our use of 'footlights.' **clamosum:** the 'Apparition' is either a noisy *mimus* or it makes the audience noisy; see § 58. Both theatre and circus were marked by noise and shouting; cf. Stat. *Silv.* III, 5, 16 *clamosi turba theatri.* See note on l. 59. **Catulli:** a composer of mimes about the middle of the first century; cf. 13, 111; Mart. V, 30, 3.

187. Laureolum: a pantomime in which a criminal was crucified and torn by wild beasts; cf. Suet. *Cal.* 57; Mart. *Epig. Lib.* 7, 3 ff.[1] **Lentulus:** see note on 7, 94. *Velox* suggests the agility necessary in a *mimus.*

188. vera cruce: 15, 17; Mart. *Epig. Lib.* 7, 4 *non falsa pendens in cruce Laureolus;* see § 26. **nec:** in prohibition, see § 77.

189. frons durior: for the opposite, cf. Plin. *Ep.* VI, 29, 6 *mollitia frontis;* Mart. IV, 6, 2 *frontis tenerae.* The brow is the mirror of the feelings, especially of shame; see note on 13, 242.

190. triscurria: from *tri-* (*ter*) and *scurra.* The prefix, though intensive, is probably only the numeral, e.g. *trifur = fur, fur, fur;* cf. *trivenifica* and *terveneficus, triparcus* (Plaut.), *triportentum* (Pacuv. p. 146, Ribb.[3]).[2] **patriciorum:** see note on 1, 24.

191. planipedes: *mimi* wore neither the *cothurnus* of the tragedian nor

[1] See Ribbeck, *Scaen. Poes. Frag.* II[3], pp. 370 f.; H. Reich, *Der Mimus,* I, pp. 744 f.

[2] Bezzenberger in Fick, *Etym. Wörterb.,* assumes an independent intensive particle.

the *soccus* of the comedian. **Fabios**: see note on l. 13. The Fabii (cf. 2, 146) and Mamerci (*gens Aemilia*) are patricians; see §§ 24, 50.

192. alapas: see note on 5, 171. **quanti sua funera vendant**: 'how great the price (i.e. safety) they receive for their moral degradation.' When the emperor was an actor (cf. ll. 211–30), the nobles avoided his displeasure by following his example; cf. l. 198.[1]

194. celsi: from his position on the tribunal near the stage as president of the performance; see notes on l. 185 and 10, 35 f.

195. gladios: cf. 10, 123. **inde atque hinc**: see note on 1, 65.

196. quid: in the sense of *utrum;* see § 62, *c*.

197. Thymeles: see note on 1, 35. The jealous husband and the *stupidus* (note on 5, 171) were standing characters in the *mimus*.

198. citharoedo principe: see note on l. 220.

199. haec ultra: see § 126. **ludus**: as in 11, 20, the school where gladiators were trained by a *lanista;* see notes on 3, 36, 158; 11, 7 f.

201. Gracchum: typical for a noble. Feeling no shame, he refuses to hide his face in the helmet of the *murmillo* or behind the shield of the *secutor* or *Threx*. **falce supina**: the *sica* of the *Threx*, a short sword with backward curve.

202. sed: without adversative force; see § 76.

205. nudum: 6A, 12 (p. 41) *qui nudus pugnare solet*. The *retiarius* was the only gladiator with uncovered head.[2] His equipment consisted of a net to cast over his opponent, a three-pointed lance (*tridens* or *fuscina*), and a dagger. **spectacula**: 'the spectators' seats' (6, 61) or 'the spectators' (11, 193); cf. Cic. *Sest.* 124 *tantus est ex omnibus spectaculis . . . plausus excitatus*.

207. tunicae: the dress of the *retiarius*; cf. 2, 143 *tunicati fuscina Gracchi;* 6A, 9 f. (p. 40) *nec retia turpi iunguntur tunicae*.[3]

208. spira: the band, here of gold cord or lace, encircling his body from left shoulder to right hip; to this the net was probably attached. Emphasis rests on *aurea*. **galero**: = 6A, 11 *munimenta umeri*, a guard of leather or metal, rising above the left shoulder and taking the place of a shield.

209. omni: a common verse ending in Juvenal;[4] see § 59, *a*.

210. secutor: the usual opponent of the *retiarius*.

212. Senecam: the teacher of Nero; see notes on 5, 109 and 7, 79.

214. nec . . . unus: see note on 3, 151. In early times the parricide,

[1] This passage refers only to the stage; see Lendrum, Class. Rev., IV, 1890, p. 229.

[2] Suet. *Claud.* 34.

[3] Buecheler, Friedl. and Owen (but see his note) punctuate *credamus tunicae*, taking *tunicae* as dative.

[4] See R. Beer, *Spicil. Iuv.*, p. 71.

after a severe flogging, was enclosed in a sack with a dog, a cock, a snake, and a monkey, and cast into the sea.[1] Cf. 13, 155 and Cicero's interpretation of the penalty in *Rosc. Am.* 71 ff.

215. Agamemnonidae: i.e. Orestes, who slew his mother and her paramour; see notes on 1, 5 and 14, 284. On the cadence, see § 153, VII.

216. deis: i.e. Apollo, through the Delphic oracle; cf. Eur. *Or.* 416 *Φοῖβος, κελεύσας μητρὸς ἐκπρᾶξαι φόνον.*

217. inter pocula: cf. 13, 186 *inter vincla;* see note on 15, 14. Juvenal follows *Odyss.* XI, 410 f., but Aeschylus lays the scene in a bath (*Agam.* 1128). **nec ... aut**: see § 80.

218. Electrae: the sister of Orestes. Cf. Eutrop. VII, 14, 3 (of Nero) *parricidia multa commisit fratre uxore matre interfectis.* Nero murdered also his sister, aunts, and other relatives. On the cadence, see § 152.

219. coniugii: see §§ 38, 129, *a*. The wife of Orestes was Hermione, daughter of the Spartan Menelaus and Helen.

220. in scaena: for a similar absurd climax, see note on 3, 9. Cf. l. 198; Suet. *Ner.* 21 *tragoedias quoque cantavit personatus;* Eutrop. VII, 14, 2 (*Nero*) *se tanto dedecore prostituit, ut et saltaret et cantaret in scaena citharoedico habitu vel tragico;* Dio, LXIII, 22, 5 *ἤκουσα αὐτοῦ πολλάκις ᾄδοντος, ἤκουσα τραγῳδοῦντος* (speech of Vindex).

221. Troica: an epic recited by Nero at the *agon Neroneus*, a poetical contest instituted by himself in 65 A.D.

222. magis: = *potius;* see § 68. **Vindice**: in the year 68 C. Iulius Vindex, *legatus pro praetore* of Gallia Lugudunensis, rose in revolt to put Ser. Sulpicius Galba on the throne, but was defeated by L. Verginius Rufus and committed suicide. On the death of Nero, Verginius refused the throne, offered by his soldiers, and swore allegiance to Galba. Juvenal inaccurately numbers him with the enemies of Nero, probably because he was prominent as a supporter of Galba. Cf. his epitaph in Plin. *Ep.* VI, 10, 4.

225. gaudentis: with infinitive, see § 116, *d.* **peregrina**: *quia apud Isthmios agones victores apio coronantur* (schol.). In the year 66 Nero visited Greece, took part in the contests at Olympia, Delphi, and the Isthmus, and at the last-named place proclaimed Greek freedom.[2]

228. Domiti: see § 38. Nero was the son of Cn. Domitius Ahenobar-

[1] Cf. *Digest.* XLVIII, 9, 9.

[2] Suet. 24. The crown of parsley (*apium*) was the regular prize at Nemea, but we have no knowledge that Nero won a victory there. At the Isthmian games, however, the victor at one time received the crown of parsley—dry in this case; cf. Plutarch, *Quaest. Conv.* V, 3; Pind. *Ol.* 13, 33. See W. v. Christ, l. l. p. 125; J. H. Krause, *Pyth. Nem. u. Isth.*, p. 202.

bus, consul in 32 A.D. He must have taken the parts of Thyestes, Antigone, and Melanippe in tragedy; cf. Suet. 21. **tu**: see § 60.

229. syrma: a long robe with a train (*σύρμα*), a characteristic dress of the tragic actor; in 15, 30 for tragedy itself. Cf. Milton, *Il Pens.* 97 f. 'let gorgeous Tragedy In sceptred pall come sweeping by.' **personam**: see note on 3, 175.

230. colosso: sc. *Domiti*; not identified with any known statue.

231. Catilina: for the conspiracy crushed by Cicero in his consulship (63 B.C.), cf. 2, 27; 10, 288 (note); 14, 41. **natalibus**: 'birth,' as often in Silver Latin. On the order, see § 124, *a*.

233. nocturna: i.e. by night; see § 55.

234. bracatorum: Gallia Narbonensis was at one time called Bracata, from the native costume; cf. 2, 169. **Sĕnŏnum**: but in Polybius Σήνωνες. This was the Gallic tribe that sacked Rome in 390 B.C.; cf. 11, 113; Tac. *Ann.* XV, 41 *quo et Senones captam urbem inflammaverint.*

235. ausi: see § 82. **tunica . . . molesta**: the punishment of the incendiary, though Nero thus lighted his gardens; cf. Tac. *Ann.* XV, 44 and see note on 1, 155.[1]

237. novus Arpinas: Cicero, born at Arpinum, boasted that he was the first *novus homo* to become consul; cf. *Leg. Agr.* 2, 3 f. and see § 142.

238. municipalis eques: i.e. from a *municipium*; in *Mur.* 17 he calls himself *equitis Romani filius.* **galeatum**: see note on 1, 169.

239. monte: usually *collis* for the hills of Rome, e.g. 3, 71; 6, 296; 9, 131; but cf. Stat. *Silv.* IV, 3, 26 *septem montibus*; ib. I, 1, 64 *septem per culmina*; ib. II, 3, 21 *per iuga septem*; ib. IV, 5, 33 *in omni vertice.*

240. muros intra: see § 126. **toga**: the garb of peace; cf. Cicero's famous verse *cedant arma togae, concedat laurea laudi* (*Off.* 1, 77; *Pis.* 73); Vell. I, 12, 3 *belli ac togae dotibus.*

241. tituli: 'glory,' as in Liv. XXVIII, 41, 3 *perpetrati belli titulus*; Stat. *Silv.* II, 7, 62 *titulum decusque.* On the primary meaning, see notes on 1, 129 and 5, 34. **Leucade**: an island south of Actium, in 31 B.C. the scene of the final triumph of Octavianus, afterwards Augustus, over C. Antonius. The hiatus *quantum in* (§ 156) is intolerable and the text doubtless corrupt.[2]

242. Thessaliae: the battlefield of Philippi was in Macedonia, but Roman poets sometimes identify it with that of Pharsalus in Thessaly; cf. Verg. *Geo.* I, 490; Ovid, *Met.* XV, 823 f.

245. Arpinas alius: see §§ 64, *b*, 142. C. Marius, the great plebeian

[1] On this punishment in Hades, see Dieterich, *Nekyia*, p. 203.

[2] The Mss. readings are *in* (*P*), *non* (*p ω*); recent suggestions are *vi* Owen, *dein* Nencini, *in se* Polstorff. For earlier attempts, see Buecheler and Friedl.

general, conqueror of the Cimbri and Teutoni near Vercellae in 101 B.C., was born at Arpinum. In 10, 276 he is a type of the man who has outlived his happiness.

247. frangebat . . . vitem: the centurion's rod of vine wood (note on 14, 193) is broken over the head of the soldier who is remiss in his duties. Marius is the soldier, not the centurion; cf. 6, 479; see note on 7, 26.[1]

248. pigra . . . dolabra: on the transferred epithet, see § 130.

252. maiora: on the stature of the Germans, cf. Plut. *Mar.* 11.

253. lauro . . . secunda: in the triumph, Marius, the popular idol, was more highly honored than Q. Lutatius Catulus, consul in 102 B.C., who had shared in the victory.

254. Deciorum: P. Decius Mus and his son of the same name were said to have sacrificed their lives to avert defeat, the father in a battle with the Latins (340 B.C.), the son with Samnites and Gauls (295 B.C.).[2]

255. totis: i.e. *omnibus;* see § 59, *c*.

257. dis . . . Terraeque parenti: warned by a dream that a general on one side and the army on the other *deis Manibus matrique Terrae deberi*, Decius the elder sacrificed himself with these words: *pro re publica, exercitu, . . . legiones auxiliaque hostium mecum deis Manibus Tellurique devoveo* (Liv. VIII, 6, 10; 9, 8). For the son's action, cf. Accius, *Decius* (Ribbeck, I², p. 328) *patrio exemplo et me dicabo atque animam devoro* (i.e. *devovero*) *hostibus;* Liv. X, 28, 13 ff.

259. ancilla natus: Servius Tullius; see note on 7, 199. **trabeam:** Plin. *N. H.* VIII, 195 *trabeis usos accipio reges.* It was a robe with purple stripes, worn also in later times by the knights when reviewed by the censor (*transvectio*); cf. 10, 35; Stat. *Silv.* IV, 2, 32 f. *trabeataque agmina*, i.e. *equites.* **diadema:** cf. 13, 39.

262. exulibus: see § 47, *b*. **iuvenes:** see § 53. The sons of L. Iunius Brutus (note on 4, 103), who were plotting to restore the exiled king, Tarquinius Superbus, were put to death by their father's order.

263. deceret: on the use of the imperfect, see § 72, *a*, (2).

264. Coclite Mucius: Horatius Cocles, who kept back the enemy from the bridge till it could be destroyed; Mucius Scaevola, who showed his endurance by burning his hand in the enemy's camp; and Cloelia, who escaped captivity by swimming the Tiber, were types of early Roman fortitude.

266. servus: Vindicius, who revealed the plot (note on l. 262), deserved the same honor as Brutus, whose death the women mourned; cf. Liv. II, 7, 4.

[1] Buecheler and W. v. Christ, l. l. p. 122, dissent from this view.

[2] This story was probably transferred from the son to the father also.

267. verbera: Liv. II, 5, 8 (of the sons of Brutus), *nudatos virgis caedunt securique feriunt.* On the caesura, see §147, *c*.

268. legum: 'under the control of law'; cf. Luc. VII, 440 f. *quid tempora legum egimus aut annos a consule nomen habentis?*

269. Thersites: the meanest of Homeric characters is contrasted with Achilles (*Aeacidae*), the noblest, who wore the divine armor made by Hephaestus (Vulcan); see note on 7, 115.

272. ut: concessive. **revolvas:** see note on 10, 126.

273. infami . . . asylo: Liv. I, 8, 5 (*Romulus*) *asylum aperit;* Luc. VII, 438 *Romulus infami conplevit moenia luco.* Hither flocked slaves and criminals to join the original shepherd population of the new city.

SATIRE X

THE VANITY OF HUMAN WISHES

The world's literature contains numerous discourses on this subject, none of which is so well known or has exerted so wide an influence as that of Juvenal.[1] English literature especially offers many reminiscences, translations, and imitations; the most famous is Dr. Johnson's 'Vanity of Human Wishes.'

In common with others of the later satires, the tenth has certain marked features which distinguish it from Juvenal's earlier work: it shows little contact with the life of the times, but has rather the character of a rhetorical treatise or essay (see p. xv, note 2). The author selects his illustrations from the common stock of the schools of declamation (note on 1, 16), and, as one might expect, brings out only those features which serve his purpose. Yet, notwithstanding the excessively florid style and, in some parts, tedious rhetoric, the tenth satire, because of the vigor of its narrative, the brilliance of its description, the exuberance of its illustration, and the real applicability of its teaching to our own and every time, will continue to be a favorite with readers of Juvenal.

The second satire of Persius may be read with profit in connection.

1. Gadibus: the western limit of the world, as India was the eastern; cf. Sil. XVII, 637 *terrarum finis Gades;* Sen. *Nat. Quaest.* I, prol. 13 *ab ultimis litoribus Hispaniae usque ad Indos.* **usque:** as a preposition (= *usque ad* or *in*) not rare from the time of Livy; with names of towns it is much earlier (Ter. *Ad.* 655).[2] See note on l. 122.

[1] For a list, see Mayor's edition.

[2] A.L.L. IV, pp. 54 ff.

2. Gangen: before the expedition of Alexander, the Phasis was the eastern limit of the Greek horizon; hence Plato, *Phaedo*, p. 109 B μέχρ' Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν ἀπὸ Φάσιδος, but Aristot. *De Cael.* II, 14, 19, puts India in its place. On the Phasis, see note on 11, 139.

3. illis: on the dative, see § 83, *b* (3). **multum:** see § 57, *b*.

5. dextro pede: 'auspiciously'; cf. Ovid, *Fast.* I, 514 *ripaque felici tacta sit ista pede;* Prud. *Symm.* II, 79 *feliciter et pede dextro.* To start with the left foot was thought unlucky.

7. evertere: on the tense, see § 72, *c* (2). **ipsis:** see note on 5, 30.

8. facilès: 'good-natured,' 'compliant'; cf. Ter. *Hec.* 761 *facilem benivolumque;* Mart. I, 103, 4 *riserunt faciles et tribuere dei.* **nocitura:** see § 118, *d*. **toga:** see note on 8, 240.

9. torrens dicendi copia: see note on 3, 74.

10. sua: 'their precious.' **ille:** Milo of Croton, whose name was proverbial for strength, was killed by wild beasts, while wedged fast in the cleft of a tree which he was trying to pull asunder (schol.).

11. perīit: the original quantity is kept; on *perīt*, see note on 3, 174.

13. patrimonia: see note on 1, 138. On the ellipsis, see § 138, *c*.

14. ballaena Britannica: Hor. *C.* IV, 14, 47 f. *beluosus qui remotis obstrepit Oceanus Britannis.* Strange tales were told by those who had visited these distant regions; cf. 14, 283; Tac. *Ann.* II, 24 *ut quis ex longinquo revenerat, miracula narrabant...monstra maris, ambiguas hominum et beluarum formas.* See § 14.

16. Longinum: the renowned jurist, C. Cassius Longinus, was banished by Nero in 65 A.D., but restored by Vespasian; see note on 8, 18. **Senecae:** Tac. *Ann.* XV, 64 (*Seneca*) *praedives et praepotens;* see notes on 5, 109 and 7, 79. **hortos:** see note on 1, 75.

17. Lateranorum: see note on 8, 147. This palace afterwards became imperial property, and finally the site of the church now known as St. John Lateran.[1] **obsidet:** see § 136, *b*.

18. rarus: see § 55. **cenacula:** 'garret'; cf. Varro, *L. L.* V, 162 *posteaquam in superiore parte cenitare coeperunt, superioris domus universa cenacula dicta.* On plural for singular, see § 48.

19. argenti...puri: plain as distinguished from embossed plate (*caelatum;* note on 1, 76); cf. 9, 141; 14, 62 *lēve argentum, vasa aspera; Digest.* VI, 1, 6 *in vasis occurrat difficultas...pura an caelata sint.*

21. ad lunam: 'in the moonlight'; cf. Verg. *Aen.* IV, 513 (*herbae*) *messae ad lunam;* Petron. 104 *qui nocte ad lunam radebantur.*

22. cantabit: Coripp. *Ioh.* III, 330 *ausus et ad lunam laetus cantare viator;* Chaucer, *Wife of Bath's Tale*, 337 f. 'The povre man, whan he

[1] Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations*, pp. 339 f.

goth by the weye, Bifore the theves he may singe and pleye.'[1] On the tense, see § 72, *c* (1). **vacuus**: 'empty-handed'; cf. Catull. 64, 288 *Penios adest...non vacuus.* In this sense *inanis* is usual, e.g. Ovid (?), *Nux*, 44 *tutum carpit inanis iter.* **viator**: see § 122.

25. arca: see note on 1, 90. The *forum* was the centre of the banking business; cf. 11, 50 *cedere...foro*, 'go into bankruptcy.'

26. fictilibus: cf. 3, 168; Sen. *Thyest.* 453 *venenum in auro bibitur.* **cum...sumes**: on this form of protasis, see § 109.

27. gemmata: cf. 5, 37–45. **Setinum**: see note on 5, 33. **auro**: see note on 1, 28. **ardebit**: *splendebit* (gloss *p*); cf. 11, 155 *ardens purpura;* Verg. *Aen.* IV, 262 *Tyrioque ardebat murice laena;* Val. Fl. III, 340 *ardentes murice vestes;* Stat. *Th.* V, 438 *chlamys ardet.*

28. de sapientibus: see § 97, *d*. Democritus was said to have looked on life as a comedy, Heraclitus as a tragedy; cf. Sotion in Stobaeus, *Flor.* 20, 53 τοῖς δὲ σοφοῖς ἀντὶ ὀργῆς Ἡρακλείτῳ μὲν δάκρυα, Δημοκρίτῳ δὲ γέλως ἐπῆει; Sen. *Dial.* IV, 10, 5; ib. IX, 15, 2. This rhetorical antithesis, false as far as Heraclitus is concerned, may go back to Sotion's source, Timon the Sillograph.[2]

30. protuleratque: see § 139. **auctor**: 'teacher'; cf. Cic. *Or.* 10 *dicendi gravissimus auctor et magister Plato.*

31. rigidi: 'merciless,' perhaps by hypallage modifying the whole idea of *censura cachinni;* cf. Pers. 1, 12 *petulanti splene cachinno;* Plin. *Ep.* IV, 9, 19 *rigidam duramque* (*sententiam*) and see § 130.

32. ille: a dative would give more clearly the desired antithesis to *cuivis.*[3] **umor**: see note on 13, 133.

34. essent: on the mood, see § 113, *a*. **illis**: see note on 1, 89.

35. praetextae: worn by higher magistrates; see note on 1, 78. Cf. Prud. *Perist.* X, 143 f. *fasces, secures, sella, praetextae togae, lictor, tribunal.* **trabea**: see note on 8, 259. **lectica**: see note on 1, 120. **tribunal**: a platform in court or elsewhere for magistrates in their curule chairs; see note on 8, 194.

37. pulvere: see note on 8, 61. The *pompa circensis*, the regular introduction to the races, proceeded from the Capitol to the Circus Maximus by way of the *forum, vicus Tuscus*, and *forum Boarium.* The praetor, as presiding officer, clad in the robes of a triumphing general, rode at the head of the procession. See note on 8, 185.

[1] For other English references, see Skeat's note.

[2] The date of this Sotion is c. 200 B.C. according to Christ, Susemihl, etc. Democritus and Heraclitus were early contrasted, especially in regard to style (Cic. *Div.* II, 133); the weeping of Heraclitus seems to have been invented merely as a contrast to the attitude of Democritus, who wrote on laughter (Cic. *De Or.* II, 235).

[3] W. v. Christ, l. l. p. 158 would emend to read *illi oculi;* cf. Quintil. XI, 3, 56.

38. tunica Iovis: the *tunica palmata*, worked with figures of palm leaves, and the *toga picta*, purple and embroidered with gold, belonged to the triumphal costume, which was kept in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. **Sarrana**: i.e. *Tyria*. In the Roman use of *Sarra*, which is nearer to the oriental form of Tyre (Hebr. *Tzôr*), there was perhaps the affected accuracy of Napoli, Firenze, München, etc. in English.

39. aulaea: suggesting breadth and heavy folds.

40. orbem: the crown of golden oak leaves studded with gems is held over his head by a slave. **cervix**: see note on 1, 64.

41. consul: for *praetor*, heightening the contrast with *servus*; see note on 8, 185. **sibi placeat**: 'be too much in love with himself,' as in 6, 276; cf. the use of *placere* with reference to love.

43. sceptro: the ivory staff surmounted by an eagle.

45. officia: 'escort'; cf. Suet. *Ner.* 28 *celeberrimo officio deductum* and see notes on 3, 239; 7, 106. **niveos**: see note on 1, 96.

46. loculos: cf. 1, 90. **sportula**: see § 41, 1, *e* and note on 1, 95.

47. tunc quoque: i.e. in the times of Democritus; cf. ll. 34 f.

49. summos ... viros: besides Democritus, the philosophers Protagoras and Anaxarchus, the poet Nicaenetus, and other famous persons were born at Abdera in Thrace, which later became a proverb for the stupidity of its people; cf. Cic. *Att.* VII, 7, 4 Ἀβδηριτικόν, 'foolish'; Mart. X, 25, 4, and Wieland's *Die Abderiten*. **daturos**: see § 118, *c*.

50. vervecum: 'block-heads'; cf. Petron. 57 *quid rides, vervex?*

51. nec non et: see note on 3, 204.

53. laqueum: more directly Plaut. *Pers.* 815 *restim tu tibi cape crassam ac te suspende.* **medium ... unguem**: with which was made an obscene, insulting gesture; cf. Pers. 2, 33 *infami digito;* Mart. VI, 70, 5 *ostendit digitum, sed impudicum.*

54. aut perniciosa: so all Mss., but the verse lacks one-half foot.[1]

55. fas est: see note on l. 257. The objects of prayer about to be mentioned, e.g. power, eloquence, glory, may be sought openly, whereas less noble desires can be expressed only in guarded secrecy; cf. Pers. 2, 4 *quae nisi seductis nequeas committere divis.*[2] **incerare**: wax tablets (note on 1, 63), containing petitions or vows (*tabulae votivae*) were hung on the statues of gods or on the walls of temples; see note on 12, 100.

57. mergit: 'shipwrecks,' as in 13, 8.

58. statuae: on the death of the object of public hatred his statues were overthrown and dragged off, his name was erased from inscriptions,

[1] Several words have been suggested to fill the gap, e.g. *vel* Döderlein, *quae* Buecheler, *ut* Munro, *quia* Nencini, *prope* Owen, *si* Ellis, none of which is certain.

[2] W. v. Christ, l. l. p. 159 would read *fasne est*; cf. Soph. *Ant.* 2; *Elect.* 390.

and every reminder of his detested name was destroyed. This *damnatio memoriae* followed the downfall of Nero, Vitellius, Domitian, and others. See note on 8, 18.[1]

60. caballis: see note on 3, 118. On triumphal statues, cf. 7, 125; 8, 3.

63. L. Aelius **Seianus**, son of a knight of Volsinii in Etruria, became *praefectus praetorio* and the prime favorite of Tiberius. When the protection of the emperor, his only safeguard, was withdrawn, his end was speedy (31 A.D.).

65. pone domi laurus: a sign of rejoicing, e.g. at a marriage (6, 79), a birth (9, 85), the safe return of a friend (12, 91). **Capitolia**: for sacrifice to Jupiter Capitolinus; see note on 12, 3 and § 48.

66. cretatum: only white victims might be offered to the gods of heaven (*superi*); cf. 12, 3; Lucil. fr. 697 B. *cretatumque bovem duci ad Capitolia magna* (schol.). **unco**: with which the bodies of criminals were dragged from the *carcer* to the *Scalae Gemoniae*. After three days' exposure, they were cast into the Tiber. Cf. l. 86; 13, 245 and see note on 1, 157.

67. quae labra: the feature most expressive of scorn; cf. Lucil. fr. 27 B. *quae facies, qui voltus viro!* **quis**: see § 62, *a*.

69. cecidit: see note on 4, 12. **quisnam**: see § 62, *d*.

70. delator: see note on 1, 33 and cf. 6, 219 f.; Quintil. VII, 2, 54.

72. Capreis: an island (now Capri), with high and precipitous shores, in the bay of Naples; here, in shameless excesses, Tiberius spent the last years of his life, sending his orders to Rome by letter. The substance of the letter here referred to is given by Dio, LVIII, 9; cf. Tac. *Ann.* I, 11 *Tiberio...suspensa semper et obscura verba*. **bene habet**: see § 70, *b*.

73. Remi: thus usually *Romulus*, which in oblique cases is unsuited to the hexameter; cf. Catull. 58, 5 *Remi nepotes;* Mart. X, 76, 4 *de plebe Remi;* Prop. V, 6, 80 *reddat signa Remi*.[2]

74. Nortia: the Etruscan goddess of Fate; cf. C.I.L. XI, 2686 *dis deabusq(ue) primitivus deae Nort(iae);* ib. VI, 537 *Nortia, te veneror lare cretus Vulsiniensi*. **Tusco**: see note on l. 63.

75. foret: see § 69, *a*. **secura senectus**: cf. 4, 81 and see § 52.

78. vendimus: early in the reign of Tiberius the functions of the people in the election of magistrates were transferred to the senate; cf. Tac. *Ann.* I, 15. **effudit curas**: i.e. has lost interest in politics.

81. panem: the free distribution of grain brought to Rome the lazy

[1] G. Zedler, *De memoriae damnatione quae dicitur*, Diss. Leipzig, 1884.

[2] For Mommsen's view of Remus as a later addition to the story, see Hermes, XVI, 1881, pp. 1 ff.

and worthless, who were a constant menace to society. See notes on 5, 119 ; 7, 174. **circenses**: see note on 3, 223. Cf. Fronto, p. 210 Nab. (Trajan) *sciret populum Romanum duabus praecipue rebus, annona et spectaculis, teneri.* **multos**: cf. Tac. *Ann.* VI, 19 ; Suet. *Tib.* 55.

82. fornacula: see § 41, I, *d*. **pallidulus**: see § 41, II, *b*. **mi**: this form occurs only here in Juvenal; on the cadence, see p. lxix.

83. Bruttidius: probably Bruttedius Niger, aedile in 22 A.D., whose unrestrained ambition is censured by Tac. *Ann.* III, 66.

84. Aiax: i.e. Tiberius ; see § 51 and note on 7, 115. As Ajax, chagrined at his defeat (*victus*), madly slew the sheep, so Tiberius, feeling that his cause has not been well advocated, may take vengeance on the people.[1] This parallel, though it seems absurd to us, was less absurd to them, because the *Armorum Iudicium* was a regular theme for debate.

86. ripa, calcemus: see note on l. 66.

88. cervice: see note on 1, 64. **sermones**: cf. 14, 152; see § 152.

90. visne: see note on 5, 74. **salutari**: see notes on 3, 130; 5, 19.

91. illi . . . illum: see note on 1, 46. **curules**: sc. *sellas ;* cf. Stat. *Silv.* III, 3, 115 *fasces summamque curulem ;* Tac. *Ann.* IV, 68 *consulatus, ad quem non nisi per Seianum aditus.*

93. augusta: 'majestic' ; see note on l. 72. The presence of the emperor as well as the physical features of the island justify the epithet.[2] **rupe**: Claudian, IV *Cons. Hon.* 314 f. *rupes Caprearum taetra . . . incesto possessa seni.*

94. grege Chaldaeo: 'troop of astrologers,' who were called *Chaldaei* or *mathematici* (14, 248); see note on 3, 43. The Chaldeans had long been famous for their knowledge of the stars. **pila cohortes**: i.e. *cohortes pilatas*, the praetorian guard, of which Seianus was commander; cf. Mart. X, 48, 2 *pilata . . . cohors.*

95. egregios equites: in this context some select body of cavalry under the *praefectus praetorio* is probably meant.[3] **domestica**: the troops quartered in the praetorian barracks, just outside of the city on the N. E., were practically the bodyguard of the *praefectus praetorio.*

97. posse volunt: 'wish for the power' ; cf. Ovid, *Her.* 12, 75 *perdere posse sat est, si quem iuvet ipsa potestas.*

[1] The scholiast seems to suggest a debate in the senate, in which Tiberius felt that his advocates had failed to win their point. Hence he is *Aiax victus*, i.e. 'worsted in debate.' See also Merry, Class. Rev., XI, 1897, pp. 26 f.

[2] Most editors prefer *angusta* (*pω*) to *augusta* (*P* Buecheler).

[3] It is possible, however, that young knights in the lower grades of the equestrian *cursus honorum* (note on 1, 58) are indicated ; for service as *tribunus cohortis praetoriae* was a common substitution in the *militiae equestres.* On the use of *egregius* in this connection, see Cagnat, *Épig. Lat.*[3] pp. 109, 117.

98. rebus . . . malorum: see § 57, *d* and with the thought cf. 14, 313 f.

99. trahitur: sc. *unco;* see note on l. 66. **praetextam**: see note on l. 35.

100. Fidenae, Gabii, and Vlubrae, towns of Latium, were types of loneliness and desolation; cf. 6, 56 f. and see note on 3, 192. **potestas**: 'magistrate'; cf. *vit. Saturn.* 9, 1 *Aegyptii magnam potestatem ad se venisse viderunt.* This is probably the first genuine example of *potestas* used concretely in the singular; cf. Ital. podestà and see note on 1, 110.[1]

101. mensura: the aedile was inspector of weights and measures; cf. Pers. 1, 130 *fregerit heminas Arreti aedilis iniquas.*

102. vacuis: cf. 3, 2. **aedilis**: see note on 3, 179.

103. foret: = *esset;* see § 69, *b.*

105. numerosa . . . tabulata: see notes on 7, 151 and 3, 199.

106. unde . . . esset: perverse purpose; the disastrous result is so sure to follow, that it is stated as if it were the purpose. Cf. Caes. *B. G.* v, 31, 5 *omnia excogitantur, quare nec sine periculo maneatur.*

107. casus: Hor. *C.* II, 10, 10 f. *celsae graviore casu decidunt turres.* **praeceps**: Luc. VII, 414 *moeniaque in praeceps laturos plena tremores;* see § 54. **ruinae**: concrete, as in 11, 18.

108. Crassos . . . Pompeios: 'such men as . . .'; see § 50 and note on 5, 149.

109. qui . . . deduxit: i.e. Julius Caesar, who with Pompeius and Crassus formed the first triumvirate. **flagra**: see note on 5, 173.

110. arte petitus: Sen. *Ep.* 95, 3 *honores nulla non arte . . . petiti.*

112. generum Cereris: i.e. Pluto; cf. 4, 98; 7, 25 and see § 142.

115. totis: see § 59, *c.* **quinquatribus**: the yearly festival (March 19–23) in honor of Minerva, who as goddess of wisdom was especially venerated by teachers and pupils.

116. parcam . . . Minervam: the schoolboy offers his gift (*stips*), which as yet (*adhuc*) is but a single *as;* cf. Varro, *L. L.* v, 182 *etiam nunc dis cum thesauris asses dant, stipem dicunt. Parcam* may refer to a cheap image of the goddess (so schol., Friedl.) or may by hypallage belong to *asse* (so Duff); cf. Mart. VIII, 33, 12 *quam fert cum parco sordidus asse cliens* and see note on l. 31.[2]

117. custos: i.e. the *capsarius*, who carried the books. **vernula**: see § 41, 1, *c.*

118. perit: = *periit;* see note on 3, 174.

119. leto dedit: an old formulaic expression seen in Ennius, Pacuvius,

[1] See E. Klebs, in Friedl. p. 610.

[2] Earlier editors understood *Minervam* as learning and *asse* as the fee to the teacher,

Plautus, sepulchral inscriptions, etc. Cf. Plat. *Rep.* VIII, 566 c *θανάτῳ δίδοται.*[1] **fons**: see note on 7, 53. On the cadence, see p. lxix.

120. ingenio: *propter ingenium* (gloss *p*).[2] **cervix**: see note on 1, 64. Cicero's head and hands were cut off and affixed to the rostra. **caesa**: = *abscisa*; see § 44.

122. fortunatam natam: 'oh! what a consolation my consulate was to the nation'; the assonance can scarcely have been accidental, though less glaring examples occur in most poets. In Juvenal the most common form is *-et et*, e.g. 5, 141 *licet et*; cf. 7, 162 *quidquid id*; 10, 1 *Gadibus usque*. This much criticised verse from Cicero's *De Consulatu Suo* refers to his suppression of the conspiracy of Catilina; for the views of Quintilian, cf. IX, 4, 41; XI, 1, 24.[3]

123. Antoni: see § 38. **gladios**: cf. 8, 195; Cic. *Phil.* II, 118 *contempsi Catilinae gladios, non pertimescam tuos.*

124. ridenda poemata malo: cf. 8, 83 f. and see note on 3, 49.

126. volveris: of unrolling the *volumen*; so 6, 452; 15, 30. *Evolvere* is thus used in good prose, e.g. Cic. *Tusc.* I, 24; see § 44 and note on 7, 23. In 8, 272 *revolvere* has this sense; cf. Plin. *Ep.* V, 5, 5 (*librum*) *ad extremum revolvisse.* **a prima . . . proxima**: after the analogy of *secundus ab*; see § 97, *b* and cf. l. 247; Sen. *Ben.* II, 29, 6 (*dinos*) *ab ipsis proximos conlocaverunt*; Plin. *Ep.* VII, 20, 6 *a te proximus.*[4] **illum**: Demosthenes, who in despair took poison, 322 B.C. See § 142.

128. torrentem: cf. l. 9 and see note on 3, 74. **frena**: see § 127. **theatri**: of Dionysus, where in the fourth century B.C. the *ecclesia* sometimes convened; cf. Thuc. VIII, 93.

129. dis . . . adversis: see note on 1, 50. **fato**: see § 17.

131. forcipibus gladios: on the rare caesura, see § 147, *b*.

132. Vulcano: a smith; see § 51 and note on 4, 133. Demosthenes' father, who owned a sword factory, was transformed in the schools into a blacksmith. He died when his son was seven years old. **rhetora**: see note on 1, 16.

133. tropaeis: the original *τρόπαιον* consisted of armor taken from the enemy and fixed on an upright post or on a trunk of a tree shorn of its branches (hence *truncis*); cf. Varro. *Menipp.* 61 Buech. *ideo fuga hostium*

[1] See Gildersleeve's note on Pind. *Ol.* 2, 90; Am. Jour. Phil., VIII, 1887, p. 253; ib. XXIII, 1902, p. 21.

[2] Mayor and others interpret as dative, 'Genius lost hand and head.'

[3] The extant fragments, about ninety verses, are found in Baehrens, *Frag. Poet. Rom.*, p. 299 ff.

[4] For evidence of the celebrity of this speech, see the edition of E. G. Sihler, New York, 1901, pp. vii–xi.

graece vocatur τροπή. hinc spolia capta fixa in stipitibus appellantur tropaea.

134. buccula: see §§ 41, 1, *e* and 43.

136. summo ... in arcu: the preceding three verses also may refer to reliefs on triumphal arches like those still standing in Rome and elsewhere; cf. Prud. *Symm.* II, 556 ff. *currus summo miramur in arcu*, etc.

138. induperator: on archaisms in Juvenal, see § 42.

141. ipsam: 'for her own sake.' Cf. I, 74; Dryden, III, 404 'Virtue grows cold without a recompense.'

142. tollas: see § 108, *a*. **olim:** 'at times'; see § 67, *a*.

143. tituli ... haesuri: see notes on I, 129; 5, 34; and § 118, *d*.

145. sterilis ... fici: Mart. X, 2, 9 *marmora Messalae findit caprificus;* Luc. VII, 856 f. (*tumuli*) *radice vetusta effudere suas victis conpagibus urnas.*

148. non capit: 'cannot contain,' as in II, 171; similarly οὐ χωρεῖ, e.g. Dem. *Phil.* III, 27 οὔθ' ἡ Ἑλλὰς οὔθ' ἡ βάρβαρος τὴν πλεονεξίαν χωρεῖ τἀνθρώπου.

150. Aethiopum: for Juvenal, the extreme south of Africa. **alios:** see § 64, *b*. Elephants were found in N. W. Africa, as well as in the far S. E. and in India (note on II, 124); cf. Aristotle, *De Cael.* II, 14, 19.[1]

151. Pyrenaeum: Hannibal, not content in Spain, crossed the Pyrenees and Alps in 218 B.C. and invaded Italy. On spondaic verses, see § 152.

152. opposuit natura: Luc. II, 619 f. *montes ... opposuit natura mari.*

153. rumpit aceto: Sil. XI, 135 *ut ruperit Alpes;* ib. XII, 15 *Alpibus ruptis;* according to Liv. XXI, 37, Hannibal opened a way by heating the rock and softening it with vinegar. This process was used in Spanish mines; cf. Plin. *N. H.* XXXIII, 71. On bucolic diaeresis, see § 147, *d*.

156. media ... Subura: see note on 3, 5.

157. facies: poetic and later prose for *aspectus;* cf. Gaius, *Inst.* IV, 126 *quae prima facie iusta videatur.* **tabella:** cf. 8, 102.

158. Gaetula ... belua: so we say 'Bengal tiger'; cf. II, 126; 12, 104; see note on l. 150. In the marshy lowlands of the Arno, Hannibal rode his only remaining elephant to be farther from the water; *vigiliis tamen et nocturno umore ... altero oculo capitur* (Liv. XXII, 2, 11).

161. praetoria: see note on I, 75. Almost twenty years after his defeat at Zama (202 B.C.), Hannibal, pursued by his enemies even to the court of Prusias I, King of Bithynia, ended his life by poison which he carried in a ring (cf. l. 166); cf. Liv. XXXIX, 51, 8 f.

162. vigilare: in terms of the Roman *salutatio;* see note on 3, 130.

[1] *P* reads *altos*, but with a gloss *praeter Indicos;* see H. Richards, Class. Rev., XIII, 1899, p. 20.

165. Cannarum: in Apulia, the scene of his bloodiest victory over the Romans, August, 216 B.C.

166. i . . . et: similarly *i nunc et* in l. 310 ; 6, 306 ; 12, 57 ; *ite . . . -que* in 12, 83. The formula is here ironical, though it may often indicate impatience, vexation, etc.[1]

167. declamatio fias: Hor. *Epist.* I, 13, 9 *fabula fias ;* see note on 7, 161.

168. Pellaeo: Pella was the birthplace of Alexander the Great, whose sigh for more worlds to conquer became a proverb ; cf. Val. Max. VIII, 14, ext. 2 ; Plut. *Tranquil. An.* 4.[2]

170. Gyari . . . Seripho: see note on 1, 73 and cf. 6, 564 *parva Seripho.*

171. figulis: cf. Luc. VI, 49 f. *fragili circumdata testa moenia*, i.e. the brick walls of Babylon, where Alexander died in 323 B.C. See § 142.

173. corpuscula: see § 41, I, *b.* **olim**: see § 67, *c.*

174. Athos: the canal dug by Xerxes through the peninsula N. W. of Mount Athos can still be traced ; Juvenal, however, seems to have disbelieved the story of Herod. VII, 22 f. **quidquid**: 'whatever else'; cf. l. 178 *quae*, l. 212 *quibus*, and see note on 13, 83. **Graecia mendax**: 14, 240; Claud. Mar. Victor, *Aleth.* III, 194 f. *reges, quorum sub nomine mendax Graecia . . . addidit obscuras vanis rationibus umbras ;* Plin. *N. H.* V, 4 *portentosa Graeciae mendacia.*

175. constratum classibus: a common hyperbole to suggest a large fleet, e.g. Curt. IX, 6, 7 *vis omnium gentium . . . classibus maria consternat.*

176. solidum mare: Xerxes' bridge of boats over the Hellespont ; cf. Herod. VII, 33 f.

177. epota: Herod. VII, 21 excepts the large rivers ; cf. Treb. Pollio, *vit. Claud.* 6, 6 (of Xerxes' army) *adde servos, adde familias, adde . . . epotata flumina consumptasque silvas.*[3]

178. prandente: 'for breakfast' : *prandium* was originally a very light meal. **quae**: see note on l. 174. **Sostratus**: a poet who wrote on the exploits of Xerxes. *Madidis alis* refers to the armpits perspiring in vehement recitation (schol.).[4] Cf. *alae* in 11, 157 and 14, 195.

180. flagellis: Xerxes ordered the sea, which had shattered his bridge of boats, to be flogged and fettered ; cf. Herod. VII, 35.

181. Aeolio . . . carcere: see notes on 1, 8 and 5, 101.

182. Ennosigaeum: 'Earth-shaker,' a Homeric name for Poseidon.

183. stigmate: Herodotus had heard that this was done (VII, 35).

[1] E. B. Lease, Am. Jour. Phil., XIX, 1898, pp. 59 ff.

[2] H. Christensen, *Die Vorlagen des byzantinischen Alexandergedichtes*, Sitzungsb. bayr. Akad., 1897, I, p. 96.

[3] On *epotus* and *epotatus*, see J. P. Postgate, Class. Rev., XVI, 1902, p. 113.

[4] This interpretation may be a mere inference from the text, but notwithstanding many attempts is the best yet offered.

184. servire: these penalties were those commonly inflicted on slaves; see notes on 5, 173; 8, 180; 14, 24.

186. fluctibus: on the ablative, see § 97, *a*.

187. totiens: with *exegit*. With the thought, cf. Petron. 120, l. 66 (of the violent deaths of Caesar and others) *hos gloria reddit honores*.

189. recto vultu: 'with upraised face,' suggesting earnestness; in 6, 401 *recta facie*, a similar attitude indicates confidence. Cf. 3, 252; Stat. *Th.* x, 542 *rectosque tenent in moenia vultus;* Claudian, III *Cons. Hon.* praef. 6 *et recto flammas imperat ore pati*. The same idea is often expressed by *erectus, erigere*, e.g. 8, 206; Ovid, *Met.* 1, 86; see § 44.[1] **pallidus**: denoting anxiety; no contrast with *recto vultu* is intended.[2]

191. plena malis: on the ablative, see § 95.

192. sui: on the case, see § 83, *a*. **cute . . . rugas**: cf. 6, 144.

194. Thabraca: a town, now Tabarca, on the coast of Numidia.

196. ille . . . ille . . . hic: see note on 1, 46.[3]

197. multum robustior: see § 57, *b*, and on elision, § 155.

198. una senum facies: 'all old men look alike'; see note on l. 157. **trementia membra**: cf. l. 267; 16, 56; Claud. *Eutrop.* 1, 113 *nec vento sic vela tremunt* (of an old man).

199. madidi . . . nasi: 6, 147 f. (a man to his wife) *saepe emungeris; . . . sicco venit altera naso*. Cf. Plaut. *Mil.* 647 (*senex*) *minime mucidus*.

201. usque adeo: see note on 3, 84. **gravis**: 6, 147 *gravis es nobis*.

202. captatori . . . Cosso: see notes on 3, 129, 184. **moveat fastidia**: 'disgust'; cf. Mart. XIII, 17, 1 *ne tibi pallentes moveant fastidia caules*.

204. nam: 'moreover,' a common use in Petronius and the elder Pliny.[4] **oblivio**: cf. 6, 325; Verg. *Geo.* III, 97 *frigidus in venerem senior;* Cic. *Cat. M.* 47.

205. iacet . . . iacebit: calls to mind Verg. *Aen.* VI, 617 *sedet aeternumque sedebit*. On the conditional, see § 108, *a*. **nervus**: cf. 9, 34.

207. anne: on the use of *anne* in Juvenal, see § 98, *b*.

209. aspice: see § 140, *a*. **partis**: 'sense,' 'faculty.'

212. quibus: see note on l. 174. **aurata . . . lacerna**: apparently a substitute for the *palla* of the *citharoedus;* cf. Auct. *ad Herenn.* IV, 60 *citharoedus . . . pallam inauratam indutus* and see note on 1, 27.

214. tubarum: possibly with a grewsome suggestion of a funeral; cf. Pers. 3, 103.

[1] Other views and support for this interpretation are given by the editor in Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc., XXXI, 1900, pp. 217-9.

[2] Blümner, Lewis, and others see a contrast between health and sickness, Duff between youth and age.

[3] H. Richards, Class. Rev., XIII, 1899, p. 20, proposes to read *pulchrior illo hic;* cf. Hor. *Epist.* II, 2, 89.

[4] See note in Friedl.

216. quot nuntiet horas: Mart. VIII, 67, 1 *horas quinque puer nondum tibi nuntiat.* The Romans used both sun-dials (*solaria*) and water-clocks (*clepsydrae*); see note on 11, 206.

217. gelido: Verg. *Aen.* V, 395 f. *gelidus tardante senecta sanguis hebet.*

218. febre calet: not even disease warms Vetustilla in Mart. III, 93, 17 *regelare nec te pestilenties possit.* **agmine facto**: see note on 3, 162.

220. expediam: see § 108, *b.* **quot . . . moechos**: cf. 14, 26.

221. Themison: typical for a doctor; cf. Apul. *Apol.* 33 *Themison servus noster, medicinae non ignarus.* This was the name of a famous physician of Laodicea in Syria. **autumno**: see note on 4, 57.

222. Basilus: not the *causidicus* of 7, 146; see § 24. **circumscripserit**: cf. 1, 46 f. *spoliator pupilli;* 14, 237; 15, 135 f.

225. villas: see note on 1, 94. **possideat nunc**: see note on 1, 106.

226. quo . . . sonabat: repeated from 1, 25; see notes there.

227. ille . . . hic . . . hic . . . ille: see note on 1, 46. **debilis**: cf. Maecenas in Sen. *Ep.* 101, 11 *debilem facito manu, debilem pede coxo* (*coxa* codd.).

232. omni: 'any'; cf. l. 303 and see § 59, *a* and note on 8, 209.

235. cum quo: for *quocum;* see note on 4, 9.

236. codice saevo: 'unnatural will'; see note on 1, 63.

237. heredes: in Roman law *heredes sui* is a technical term for the wife and children, but no technical use need be understood here.

238. Phialen: φιάλη, 'drinking-bowl'; nicknames of women of this class are often significant.[1] **artificis**: see notes on 3, 129 and 4, 18.

239. steterat: 3, 156; 11, 172; see note on 1, 47. **annis**: see § 92.

240. ducenda . . . funera: see note on 1, 146.

242. sororibus: on the ablative with *plenus*, see § 95.

245. nigra veste: the garb of mourning; cf. 3, 213 *pullati proceres.*

246. rex Pylius: Nestor, who survived two generations and ruled over the third (*Iliad,* I, 250 f.); see note on 12, 128.

247. cornice: i.e. *vita cornicis;* see § 57, *d.* Belief in the longevity of the crow was general; cf. Hor. *C.* III, 17, 13 *annosa cornix.* On the age of the stag, see note 14, 251.

249. dextra: in the ancient system of finger-counting, units and tens were counted on the left hand, hundreds and thousands on the right.

252. stamine: i.e. the thread of Lachesis; see note on 3, 27.

253. Antilochi: Nestor's eldest son, who was killed at Troy. **barbam ardentem**: i.e. on the funeral pyre. From the Roman point of view the beard shows his youth; see note on 4, 103.

[1] This alludes to her excessive drinking; cf. Ovid, *Am.* I, 8, 2 f. *Dipsas . . . ex re nomen habet.* If she were younger, she might be regarded as ἔρωτος κύπελλον; cf. Apul. *Met.* V, 30 *puellas propinare* and see Crusius, *Untersuch. z. d. Mim. d. Herondas*, p. 7.

256. haec eadem: see § 61, *a*. **Peleus:** sc. *queritur;* cf. 14, 214.

257. alius: i.e. Laertes, the father of Ulysses, the wandering Ithacan; see § 142 and cf. 1, 10; 14, 287; 15, 26. **fas:** 'natural'; cf. Stat. *Th.* XII, 79 *fas sit lugere parenti.* Others consider *fas* = *fatum*, as in Verg. *Aen.* I, 206; Pers. 1, 61; and elsewhere,[1] but the regular use of *fas* in Juvenal, = 'right,' 'allowable,' 'natural,' seems suitable here.

258. incolumi: Cic. *Tusc.* I, 85 (of Priam) *si vivis filiis incolumi regno occidisset;* cf. the whole passage with Juvenal's description.

259. Assaraci ... sollemnibus: 'with funeral worthy of a Trojan king.' Assaracus was the brother of Ilos, Priam's grandfather. **funus:** see note on 4, 109.

260. cervicibus: see note on 1, 64.

261. edere planctus ... inciperet: *Iliad*, XXIV, 723 ἦρχε γόοιο.

262. scissa ... palla: a way of showing grief at a funeral; cf. 13, 132; Stat. *Silv.* V, 1, 20 *flere et scindere vestes.* Cassandra and Polyxena were Priam's daughters, Hector and Paris his sons.

263. foret: see § 69, *a*. **diverso:** see note on 4, 148.

264. audaces ... carinas: see § 130. The ancient sailor was a type of hardihood or even of impiety; cf. Sen. *Med.* 301 f. *audax nimium qui freta primus rate tam fragili perfida rupit.* In this case the object of the voyage adds emphasis to the epithet.

265. longa dies: 'long life,' 'length of time'; cf. Tibull. I, 4, 17 f. *longa dies homini docuit parere leones, longa dies molli saxa peredit aqua,* and see note on 7, 41. **igitur quid:** see § 125, *a*, *h*.

266. flammis ... cadentem: Verg. *Aen.* II, 555 f. *Troiam incensam et prolapsa videntem Pergama;* Cic. *Tusc.* I, 85.

267. miles tremulus: see note on l. 198 and cf. Verg. *Aen.* II, 509 f. *arma diu senior desueta trementibus aevo circumdat nequiquam umeris.* **tiara:** 6, 516; Verg. *Aen.* VII, 246 f. *Priami ... sacerque tiaras.*

268. ruit: i.e. *corruit;* see note on 8, 93 and cf. Stat. *Ach.* I, 537 (Calchas) *ante ipsas tremefactus corruit aras;* Prop. II, 19, 14 *haedus ubi agrestes corruet ante focos;* ib. IV, 10, 15 *Iuppiter, haec hodie tibi victima corruet.* On Priam's death, cf. Verg. *Aen.* II, 506 ff. **vetulus bos:** see p. lxix and cf. Verg. *Aen.* V, 481 *procumbit humi bos.*

270. praebet: see note on l. 345. **aratro:** i.e. *aratore;* see § 93.

271. utcumque: 'at all events'; see § 66.

272. latravit rictu: on Hecuba's conversion into a dog, cf. Ovid, *Met.* XIII, 567 f. *rictuque in verba parato latravit conata loqui;* Sen. *Agam.* 705 ff. **vixerat:** on the tense, see § 72, *d*. **uxor:** see § 123.

273. regem: i.e. Mithridates, who like Croesus, king of Lydia, was

[1] So Lewis, Friedl., etc.; see commentators on Pers. 1, 61 and 5, 99.

conquered and deposed. The meeting of Croesus and Solon is described by Herod. I, 30–33. **transeo**: see note on 3, 114.

276. paludes: Ovid, *Pont.* IV, 3, 47 *in caeno Marius iacuit cannaque palustri*; see note on 8, 245.

278. hinc: *ex longa vita* (gloss *p*). On the caesura, see § 147, *c*.

281. opimam: a bold transference of epithet from the usual *spolia opima*; less boldly Hor. *C.* IV, 4, 51 f. *opimus...triumphus*. On the hiatus, see § 156.

282. Teutonico...curru: see notes on 8, 245 and 253. **vellet**: 'was on the point of'; cf. Ovid, *Am.* I, 12, 3 *modo cum discedere vellet*; ib. *Her.* 3, 58; Hor. *Sat.* II, 3, 37.

283. Pompeio: in this case, as in that of Priam (note on l. 258), Juvenal seems closely to follow Cic. *Tusc.* I, 86. If Pompeius had died of this fever in 50 B.C., he would have escaped defeat and violent death.

285. igitur: on the position, see § 125, *h*.

286. caput abstulit: Luc. X, 380 f. *tumulum...Pompei non omnia membra tegentem*. Pompeius was murdered in Egypt and his head sent to Caesar.

288. integer: Stat. *Silv.* II, 1, 155 f. *manesque subivit integer et nullo temeratus corpora damno*. P. Cornelius Lentulus Sura, consul in 71 B.C., and C. Cethegus were among the chief accomplices of Catilina who were strangled in the Tullianum; see notes on 3, 314 and 8, 231. Catilina himself fell in battle (*iacuit*) a few weeks later.

290. Veneris: not only the goddess of love but the giver of beauty.

291. usque ad delicias votorum: 'even to the point of extravagance in her petitions.' *Deliciae* is sometimes the superfluous in contrast to the necessary, e.g. Sen. *Ben.* IV, 5, 1 *neque enim necessitatibus tantummodo nostris provisum est; usque in delicias amamur*. For *deliciae* of a person, see note on 4, 4.[1]

292. gaudet Latona: Verg. *Aen.* I, 502 *Latonae tacitum pertemptant gaudia pectus* (because of the superior beauty of her daughter); cf. *Odyss.* VI, 102 ff. Ἄρτεμις εἶσι...γέγηθε δέ τε φρένα Λητώ.

293. Lucretia: the chaste wife of Collatinus, who killed herself for shame when dishonored by Sex. Tarquinius; cf. Liv. I, 57 ff.

294. Verginia: killed by her father to save her honor; Liv. III, 44 f.

295. suam: sc. *faciem* (293).[2] Rutila is quite unknown.

[1] W. v. Christ, l. l. p. 145, following a suggestion of Ruperti, interprets: 'Gelübde, welche der Göttin Freude machen,' and thinks of the eager mother as vowing beautiful gifts to win the favor of the goddess.

[2] *Suam* of *pω* is awkward, but better than *suum* of *P*, which Buecheler, followed by Owen, retains and interprets as *gibbum mammatum*, i.e. *papillas*. Recent suggestions are *suum Rutila ei* Nencini, l. l. p. 303 and *sinum* Jessen, l. l. p. 511.

296. trepidos . . . habet: Val. Fl. VIII, 1 f. *trepidam . . . et iam sua facta paventem . . . furiaeque minaeque patris habent;* see § 120.

297. rara . . . concordia: Ovid, *Her.* 15, 184 *his est cum forma magna pudicitiae;* Sen. *Ben.* III, 16, 3 *argumentum est deformitatis pudicitia;* Dryden, II, p. 372 'I think that person hardly will be found, With gracious form and equal virtue crowned.'

299. Sabinos: proverbially chaste; cf. Ovid, *Am.* II, 4, 15 *aspera si visa est rigidasque imitata Sabinas;* Mart. I, 62, 1 *casta nec antiquis cedens Laevina Sabinis.* See also note on 3, 169.

300. vultum: Suet. *Dom.* 18 *vultu modesto ruborisque pleno.* The flushing cheek is a sign of modesty; cf. 11, 54 and see note on 13, 242.

303. natura potentior: Ovid, *Met.* IX, 758 *at non vult natura potentior omnibus istis.* **omni:** see § 59, *a* and note on 8, 209.

307. arce: usual for the dwelling of a tyrant; cf. Phaed. I, 2, 5 *arcem tyrannus occupat* and see note on 4, 145.

308. praetextatum: see note on 1, 78. **loripedem:** cf. 2, 23.

309. utero: *ventre* (gloss *p*); of males also in Vergil, Lucan, etc.

310. i nunc: see note on l. 166. **iuvenis:** i.e. *filii;* see § 53.

311. adulter publicus: Sen. *Ben.* III, 28, 4 *et gulae servus et adulterae. immo adulterarum commune mancipium;* Hor. *C.* II, 8, 7 f.

312. poenas . . . debet: an awkward sentence, explained by Buecheler thus: *poenas irati quascumque metuit eas debet,* i.e. the punishment inflicted by an outraged husband, which he fears, if he should be caught, he is liable at any time to receive and meanwhile remains, as it were, in the husband's debt.

313. felicior astro: i.e. *astrum eius felicius astro;* see § 57, *d* and on Juvenal's belief in astrology, note on 7, 195.

314. Martis: the lover of Venus, who was caught by Vulcan; cf. Ovid, *A. A.* II, 561 f. *fabula narratur toto notissima caelo, Mulciberis capti Marsque Venusque dolis.* **laqueos:** cf. *Odyss.* VIII, 272 ff.

315. dolor: regular for the indignation of the injured husband or wife, e.g. Ovid, *Met.* I, 735 f. *numquam tibi causa doloris haec erit.*

317. verberibus: in the Roman republic a husband might kill both the unfaithful wife and her lover, but this right was afterwards restricted. More often the adulterer was let go after a severe flogging, a payment of money, or both; cf. Plaut. *Mil.* 1394 ff.; Varro in Gell. XVII, 18 (the case of Sallust). **mugilis:** cf. Catull. 15, 19 and possibly Hor. *Sat.* I, 2, 133. For the similar use of the *ῥαφανίς* at Athens, cf. Aristoph. *Nub.* 1083.[1]

318. Endymion: 'your blooming son' (Mayor); cf. l. 310 and see § 51.

[1] *Paroem. Gr.* I, p. 467.

322. Oppia: cf. l. 220. **Catulla**: cf. 2, 49.

323. totos mores: Tac. *Ann.* IV, 3 *neque femina amissa pudicitia alia abnuerit.*

325. Hippolyto ... Bellerophonti: ancient types of chastity under severe temptation. Both were falsely accused by the guilty women; cf. Ovid, *Her.* 4; *Iliad*, VI, 160 ff. **grave propositum**: 'earnest purpose'; see note on 5, 1.

326. haec: i.e. Phaedra, the temptress of Hippolytus. **repulsa**: causal ablative with *erubuit.*

327. Stheneboea: in Homer the wife of Proetus is Anteia. **Cressa**: Phaedra, daughter of Minos, King of Crete, is *Cressa* also in Ovid, *Her.* 4, 2; Sen. *Phaedra*, 177.

328. concussere: see note on 3, 101 *concutitur.*

330. nubere: see § 116, *c.* **Caesaris uxor**: Valeria Messalina, wife of Claudius, forced the consul designatus, C. Silius, into a marriage with herself. When the emperor heard of it, both were put to death.[1]

331. optimus: a dactylic word as the second foot only here in Juvenal, and rare except in Horace; it is a freedom of satire.[2] **hic ... idem**: see § 61, *a.* **formosissimus**: Tac. *Ann.* XI, 12 *C. Silium iuventutis Romanae pulcherrimum.*

332. patriciae: in fact, the *gens Silia* was plebeian; see note on 1, 24. **rapitur**: see note on 7, 168. **extinguendus**: see § 152.

334. flammeolo: this rare diminutive also in Prud. *Psych.* 449; see § 41, 1, *c.* Elsewhere in poetry the plural *flammea* is used; cf. 2, 124; 6, 225; see § 48. **genialis**: sc. *lectus*, the symbol of marriage, which stood in the *atrium.*

335. decies centena: cf. 2, 117; 6, 137. The bestowal of the dowry was part of the ceremony; hence *ritu antiquo.*

336. signatoribus auspex: cf. 2, 119; Tac. *Ann.* XI, 27 *adhibitis qui obsignarent ... illam audisse auspicum verba.* See note on 3, 82.

337. tu: from this point to l. 345 the satirist addresses Silius.

338. legitime: cf. 2, 135 f. **quid**: i.e. *utrum*; see § 62, *c.*

339. velis: see § 108, *b.* **ante lucernas**: see note on 1, 169.

340. parvula: on diminutive form of adjectives, see § 41, II, *a.*

341. nota ... populo: Tac. *Ann.* XI, 30 *matrimonium Silii vidit populus et senatus et miles.*

342. tu: see § 60.

345. praebenda ... cervix: a phrase often used of executions, e.g. Petron. 97; Sen. *Ep.* 4, 7; ib. 82, 12. On the singular, see note on 1, 64.

[1] Cf. 6, 115 ff.; Tac. *Ann.* XI, 12; ib. 26 ff.; Suet. *Claud.* 26, 29.

[2] It is found also in Lucr., Catull., Verg., Prop.; see L. Müller *De Re Metr.*[2], p. 249.

347. permittes: cf. Hor. *C.* I, 9, 9 *permitte divis cetera.*

348. rebus . . . utile: on the construction, see § 83, *b* (2).

350. carior: Sen. *Ben.* II, 29, 6 *carissimos nos habuerunt di inmortales habentque et . . . ab ipsis proximos conlocaverunt.*

355. candiduli: see § 41, II, *b*. **divina tomacula**: 'prophetic sausages,' a satirical term for the entrails by which the haruspex predicts; cf. Cic. *Div.* I, 38 *aliquid in animis praesagiens atque divinum.*

356. mens sana in corpore sano: perhaps the earliest parallel to this much quoted phrase is Plat. *Gorg.* 479 B ὑγιοῦς σώματος . . . ὑγιεῖ ψυχῇ;[1] cf. also Hor. *C.* I, 31, 17 ff. *frui paratis et valido mihi, Latoe, dones et precor integra cum mente;* Lucian, *Laps. inter Salut.* 5 and 11. See § 37.

358. spatium vitae extremum: 'the end of life'; cf. Plin. *N. H.* VII, 190 *praecipuum naturae bonum, mortem.*[2] On the caesura, see § 147, *b*.

359. quoscumque: on this indefinite use, see § 63.

360. nesciat irasci: on Juvenal's attitude toward Stoicism, see § 17.

361. Herculis aerumnas: Cic. *Fin.* II, 118 *Herculis perpeti aerumnas. sic enim maiores nostri labores non fugiendos tristissimo tamen verbo aerumnas etiam in deo nominaverunt.*

362. pluma: see note on I, 159. **Sardanapalli**: the last king of Assyria, whose name was proverbial for luxury.[3]

363. semita . . . vitae; cf. Hor. Epist. I, 18, 103 *fallentis semita vitae.*

365. prudentia: Sen. *Ep.* 85, 2 *prudens beatus est et prudentia ad beatam vitam satis est.* This and the following verse (to *deam*) are repeated in 14, 315 f.; see note on I, 25.

366. nos: strongly emphatic; cf. Mart. VIII, 24, 5 f. *qui fingit sacros auro vel marmore vultus, non facit ille deos; qui rogat, ille facit.* See § 18. **caelo**: on the omission of *in*, see § 91.

SATIRE XI

AN INVITATION TO DINNER

In the body of this satire (ll. 56–208) we have a picture of the simple table to which Persicus is invited, and a description of the poet's frugal mode of life, which is placed in stronger light by contrast with the luxurious living of the rich. The plain fare that he offers reminds him of the olden times and leads to a long digression (ll. 77–119).[4] The intro-

[1] A. Souter, Class. Rev., XIV, 1900, p. 414.

[2] Mayor and others interpret: 'counting length of days (cf. l. 188) as the last, i.e. least desirable, of nature's gifts.'

[3] A. Sonny, A.L.L. VIII, p. 491; M. C. Sutphen, Am. Jour. Phil., XXII, 1901, p. 370.

[4] See §§ 36 and 141.

duction (ll. 1–55) presents some reflections on extravagance, and especially on excessive indulgence in the pleasures of the table.

1. Atticus: typical for a rich man; see § 50. T. Claudius Atticus Herodes, usually called Herodes Atticus, consul under Trajan and Hadrian, was suddenly enriched by finding a great treasure.[1]

2. Rutilus: a poor man. **maiore cachinno**: cf. 3, 100.

3. pauper Apicius: 'a poor man acting Apicius'; see note on 4, 23.

4. convictus: here concrete; see note on 1, 145.

5. de Rutilo: sc. *loquuntur;* see § 138, *b* and cf. l. 21; 13, 181.

6. galeae: cf. 7, 33 *cassidis.* **fertur**: cf. 6, 648 f. *feruntur praecipites,* 'rush on in their mad career.'

7. non . . . tribuno: 'not of course under compulsion of the tribune, yet without any interposition on his part.' Roman citizens who wished to enter a school of gladiators (note on 8, 199) must formally declare their intention before a tribune of the people.

8. scripturus: see § 118, *a.* He will subscribe to the gladiator's oath by which the *lanista* becomes his absolute (cf. *regia*) master. The form in Petron. 117 is *uri vinciri verberari ferroque necari et quidquid aliud . . . iussisset.*

10. macelli: where the gourmand will appear; cf. 5, 95 and 6, 40.

11. vivendi causa: cf. Auct. *ad Herenn.* IV, 39 *oportet esse* (eat), *ut vivas, non vivere, ut edas;* see note on 8, 84.

12. egregius: the comparative of *egregie* occurs only here. A less awkward expression would be *ut quisque miserrimus, ita optime cenat.*[2]

13. et cito casurus: cf. 1, 34 *et cito rapturus* and see § 118, *c.* **perlucente ruina**: a bold metaphor to express impending bankruptcy; cf. 3, 195; 2, 78; Sen. *Herc. F.* 1001 *perlucet omnis regia. Ruina* is concrete, as in 10, 107.

14. gustus: 'dainties'; see note on 5, 95. The usual meaning in Silver Latin is 'flavor,' e.g. Plin. *N. H.* XIV, 12 *austeriorem gustum vini.* **elementa**: Ovid, *Pont.* 1, 10, 9 f. *quod mare, quod tellus, adpone, quod educat aer; nil ibi, quod nobis esuriatur, erit.*[3]

16. adtendas: on the conditional, see § 108, *a;* here, however, the apodosis is suppressed. **ementur**: see § 136, *b.*

17. haut difficile: as in 14, 136 *haut dubius,* the metre does not allow *non;* of the remaining six occurrences of *haut,* four are with adjectives (6, 7; 8, 198; 13, 200; 16, 8), one with adverb (3, 164), and one with

[1] Philost. *Vit. Soph.* II, 1, 3; Borghesi, *Œuvres,* V, p. 533.

[2] W. v. Christ, l. l. p. 160 takes *egregius* as the adjective in the positive and changes *melius* to *medius,* i.e. 'on the *lectus medius.*'

[3] See H. Diels, *Elementum,* Leipzig, 1899, pp. 68 ff.; Friedl. *Sittengeschichte,* III [6], p. 32.

verb (7, 93). The use with verbs, common in early Latin and not rare in Cicero, Livy, and Tacitus, is a vanishing quantity in the later period.[1]

18. lancibus oppositis: 'by pawning plate'; cf. Catull. 26 *villula nostra non ad Austri flatus opposita...verum ad milia quindecim et ducentos;* Plaut. *Pseud.* 87 *si me opponam pignori.*

19. quadringentis: cf. the extravagance of Vitellius, who in the few months of his reign squandered 900 million sesterces in gluttony, and often as much as 400,000 on a single feast.[2]

20. miscillanea: only here in this sense; cf. schol. *cibus gladiatorum ...ideo miscellania, quia omnia quae apponuntur eis miscent et manducant.* **ludi**: see note on 8, 199.

21. haec eadem: see § 61, *a;* cf. l. 25. **paret**: see note on 3, 224.

26. ignoret: ideal protasis to *despiciam.* **arca**: see note on 1, 90.

27. sacculus: cf. l. 38; 14, 138. **e caelo descendit**: proverbial for the origin of persons or things admirable and glorious, e.g. 2, 40; Cic. *Imp. Pomp.* 41 *Pompeium, sicut aliquem non ex hac urbe missum, sed de caelo delapsum intuentur.*[3] The saying *γνῶθι σεαυτόν*, 'know thyself,' inscribed at Delphi, was variously attributed to the Greek sages or to Apollo himself.

28. figendum: see note on 5, 12. The main idea lies in the gerundives.

29. quaeras: see § 108, *a.* **sacri**: for the usual *sancti*, e.g. Verg. *Aen.* 1, 426 *sanctumque senatum;* see note on 1, 110. **in parte senatus esse**: 'to be a senator.' *In parte esse* means 'to have a share,' e.g. Liv. v, 46, 4 *ut in parte praedae essent;* cf. Tac. *Ann.* 1, 11, 2 *in partem curarum ab illo vocatum.*

30. neque enim: see § 73. **loricam ... Achillis**: see note on 7, 115.

31. Thersites: see note on 8, 269. **traducebat**: see note on 7, 16.

33. consule: from *consulere.* **qui**: see § 62, *b.*

34. Matho: see § 24. **buccae**: 'wind-bags'; *qui tantum buccas inflant et nihil dicunt* (schol.). Cf. 3, 35 and see note on 7, 111.

36. summis minimisque: see note on 1, 14.

37. mullum: see note on 4, 15. **gobio**: 'gudgeon,' a fish not highly esteemed. Cf. Plaut. *Pers.* 317 *boves bini hic sunt in crumina.*

38. quis: see § 62, *a.* **deficiente crumina**: Hor. *Epist.* 1, 4, 11 *non deficiente crumina*, 'a purse that fails not.'

39. gula: see note on 1, 140. **exitus**: cf. 7, 129 *exitus hic est.* **paterno**: see § 124.

40. mersis: 'swallowed up,' like a ship in an angry sea. Thus a glutton is *vorago* or *gurges;* cf. Pliny quoted in note on 4, 23.

[1] See A.L.L. IV, pp. 158 f.
[2] Tac. *Hist.* II, 95; Suet. *Vit.* 13.
[3] See M. C. Sutphen, Am. Jour. Phil., XXII, 1901, p. 19.

41. argenti: see § 88 and note on 10, 19.

43. anulus: as a bankrupt he forfeits equestrian privileges and must give up his ring; see notes on 3, 154; 7, 88. **Pollio**: cf. 9, 7.

44. acerbum: 'untimely,' a metaphor from unripe fruit; *mors acerba* is common in epitaphs, e.g. Buecheler, *Carm. Epig.* 93, 5; 1076, 2.

45. luxuriae: *luxuriosis* (gloss *p*), abstract for concrete; see § 129, *a*.

46. conducta: 'borrowed'; cf. 6, 352 f.; Hor. *Sat.* 1, 2, 9 *conductis coemens obsonia nummis.*

47. dominis: i.e. the lenders, e.g. the anxious *faenoris auctor* (l. 48).

49. vertere solum: 'change base,' 'abscond'; cf. Cic. *Caec.* 100 *qui volunt poenam aliquam subterfugere aut calamitatem, eo solum vertunt, hoc est, sedem ac locum mutant.* The simple verb has the force of *convertere* in the colloquial phrase; see § 44. **Baias ... ostrea**: see notes on 3, 4; 4, 140.

50. cedere ... foro: Sen. *Ben.* IV, 39, 2 *si foro cesserit, portionem feram;* see note on 10, 25 and § 44.

51. Esquilias: see note on 3, 71. **Subura**: see note on 3, 5.

53. anno: see § 92. **circensibus**: see note on 3, 223.

54. sanguinis: Claud. *Eutrop.* I, 253 *quid in hoc poterit vultu flagrare ruboris?* See notes on 10, 300; 13, 242. **morantur ... pudorem**: 'few have any regard for shame, which has become a laughing-stock and is departing from our midst'; cf. Verg. *Aen.* V, 400 *nec dona moror* and the common *nihil moror.* The required negative is implied in *pauci.*[1]

56. numquid: Petron. 102 *videte numquid hoc placeat;* see § 98, *c*.

57. Persice: the persons addressed in *Sat.* 11–16 are unknown.

58. si: 'whether,' strictly, 'in case'; see G.-L. § 460, *b*. **pultes**: see note on 14, 171.

61. Euandrum: i.e. poor but hospitable; in Verg. *Aen.* VIII, 362 ff. *pauper Euander* welcomes Aeneas to his modest abode, in which Hercules had once been a guest. **Tirynthius**: i.e. Hercules, born at Tiryns.

62. contingens: cf. 8, 7; Aeneas was the son of the goddess Venus.

63. aquis ... flammis: Aeneas lost his life in the river Numicius, Hercules was burned on Mount Oeta.

64. ornata: Hor. *C.* I, 37, 3 f. *ornare pulvinar deorum tempus erat dapibus;* but cf. Mart. X, 59, 3 f. *ex omni ... instructa macello cena.* **macellis**: see note on l. 10.

65. Tiburtino: on Juvenal's estates, see § 13, end; cf. l. 69 *vilica.*

[1] W. v. Christ, l. l. p. 129 takes *ridiculum* as substantive, 'ob sie sich lächerlich machen.'

70. faeno: the eggs were brought packed in hay for safety and are still warm; cf. Mart. III, 47, 14 *tuta faeno cursor ova portabat.*

72. parte: cf. 12, 110 (note) and see § 92. It is now April; see note on l. 193. **vitibus uvae**: Mart. I, 43, 3 *non quae de tardis servantur vitibus uvae.*

73. Signinum Syriumque: i.e. from Signia, now Segni, in Latium and from Tarentum; in Columella, V, 10, 18, among the best pears are *Signina, Tarentina, quae Syria dicuntur.*

74. Picenis: the apples of Picenum were famous; cf. Hor. *Sat.* II, 4, 70 *Picenis cedant pomis Tiburtia suco.*

76. autumnum: 'unripe flavor'; probably not elsewhere in this sense.

77. olim: see § 67, *c* and note on 1, 95 *avus.*

78. Curius: a type of early frugality; cf. 2, 3, 153; see note on 8, 3.

80. compede: this is the mark of a slave; see notes on 8, 180; 14, 24. **fossor**: so we speak of a navvy; cf. Pers. 5, 122; Catull. 22, 10.

81. vulva: a favorite dish; cf. Hor. *Epist.* I, 15, 41 *nil vulva pulchrius ampla.* **popinae**: cf. 8, 172.

82. rara ... crate: the rack of wicker-work in which the bacon is kept.

83. moris: in the classical period *consuetudinis* is thus used, e.g. Caes. *B. G.* IV, 5, 2; see G.-L. § 366, R. 2, end.

84. natalicium: see § 55.[1] **ponere**: see note on 1, 141.

86. titulo: 'honor,' 'office'; cf. Cic. *Pis.* 19 *sustinere tamen titulum consulatus;* for other uses of the word, see notes on 1, 129; 5, 34.

89. domito: Verg. *Aen.* IX, 608 *rastris terram domat;* see § 127.

90. Fabios: see notes on 8, 13 and 191. **Catonem**: called *durus* also by Mart. XI, 2, 1; cf. 2, 40. All these names stand for the frugality and high morals of the early days.

91. Scauros: a distinguished family of the *gens Aemilia;* cf. 2, 35; 6, 604. **Fabricium**: C. Fabricius Luscinus, censor in 275 B.C., is a type of the good old times (2, 154) and a stern censor (also 9, 142).

92. collega: M. Livius Salinator and C. Claudius Nero, censors in 204 B.C., each made accusation against the other.[2]

93. seria: cf. 6A, 18 (p. 41) *seria vitae.*

94. Oceano: see § 47, *b.* **testudo**: used by the luxurious for inlaid work on tables, couches, etc.; cf. 14, 308 and see § 123.

95. Troiugenis: see note on 1, 100. **factura**: see § 118, *d.* **fulcrum**: not unlike the head of a modern sofa or couch. It was often overlaid with bronze and surmounted by the head of an ass encircled with a vine garland; cf. 6, 22.[3]

[1] See A.L.L. V, p. 418.

[2] Liv. XXIX, 37, 9 ff.; Val. Max. II, 9, 6.

[3] On extant specimens, see Anderson, Class. Rev., III, 1889, p. 323 (with illustration).

96. nudo latere: parallel with *parvis* to qualify *lectis;* see § 85. **frons aerea**: i.e. *fulcrum*. There was no costly decoration in early days.

98. ruris alumni: *rustici infantes* (schol.); cf. 3, 176; 9, 60; 14, 168.

100. Graias . . . artes: Liv. XXV, 40, 2 says that Rome began to appreciate Greek art after the capture of Syracuse in 212 B.C.; *inde primum initium mirandi Graecarum artium opera.* Sall. *Cat.* 11, 6 sets the date about 125 years later. **mirari**: see § 117. **parte**: see note on l. 29.

102. magnorum artificum: such as Mentor; see note on 8, 104.

103. phaleris: thin plates of precious metal used as military ornaments for horses and for men; see note on 16, 60.

104. simulacra: see § 48. On the helmet were represented the she-wolf that suckled Romulus and Remus, the two foundlings themselves, and their father Mars. This was a favorite subject in Roman art.

105. fato: see § 17. **Quirinos**: for Remus as well as for Romulus; cf. Apul. *Met.* x, 31 *isti Castores* (i.e. Castor and Pollux).

106. nudam: in extant representations Mars is usually naked and armed with shield and spear. Though represented on the helmet as passing through the air (*pendentis*) on his way to visit Rhea Silvia, yet to the enemy who beholds him he is the terrible god of war advancing to the attack with the shield and spear. For *venire*, 'attack,' see note on l. 113; for the ablatives, cf. 8, 201 *clipeo Gracchum pugnantem;* 12, 4 *pugnanti Gorgone* (of Minerva).[1]

108. ponebant: see note on 1, 141. **Tusco . . . catino**: Pers. 2, 60 *Tuscum fictile*, common earthenware. **farrata**: see note on 14, 171.

110. omnia tunc: see § 138, *a*. **lividulus**: see § 41, II, *b*.

111. praesentior: see note on 3, 18. **vox**: for the divine voice (*Aius Locutius*) which warned the Romans of the approach of the Gauls, cf. Liv. v, 32, 6.

113. litore ab Oceani: Liv. v, 37, 2 *invisitato et inaudito hoste ab Oceano.* See § 126. **Gallis venientibus**: this Gallic invasion culminated in the sack of Rome; see note on 8, 234. For *venire* of hostile advance, cf. Lucr. III, 833 *ad confligendum venientibus undique Poenis* (Munro's note); Verg. *Aen.* XII, 510 *hunc venientem . . . ferit;* ib. VI, 291.

114. vatis: see note on 1, 18. **his**: 'by such signs as this.'

116. fictilis: i.e. in the early days; cf. Cic. *Div.* 1, 16 *Iovis optimi maximi, qui tum erat fictilis.* **violatus**: see note on 3, 20.

117. domi natas: 'home-grown.' **mensas**: see note on 1, 75.

[1] This is the view of Duff; Buecheler and Owen take the ablatives with *nudam*, others regard them as ablatives of accompaniment without *cum* or alter the text. For a picture such as Juvenal has in mind, see Baumeister, *Denkmäler d. Kl. Alter.*, p. 886.

118. ad usus: for the common *in usum*, e.g. Hor. *C.* I, 27, 1 f. *natis in usum laetitiae scyphis pugnare Thracum est.*

122. unguenta atque rosae: cf. 15, 50. **sustinet orbes grande ebur**: Mart. II, 43, 9 *Indis suspendis dentibus orbes;* see § 26 and note on 1, 75.

123. sublimis pardus: 'a panther rampant'; this defines *grande ebur.*

124. porta Syenes: i.e. Syene on the Nile, called *porta* because on the confines of the empire. It was a centre of the trade in ivory. The chief homes of the elephant were Ethiopia, Mauretania, and India, which are mentioned in connection by Plin. *N. H.* VIII, 32 *elephantos fert Africa ultra Syrticas solitudines et in Mauretania,...sed maximos India.* See note on 10, 150.

126. Nabataeo...saltu: the territory of the Nabataei had become the Roman province of Arabia. Juvenal was probably mistaken in his belief that elephants were found there. **belua**: see note on 10, 158.

127. hinc: i.e. because of the costly tables. **orexis**: cf. 6, 428; the word 'anorexia' is still used for 'want of appetite.'

129. anulus...ferreus: the right to wear a gold ring was denied to all of lower than equestrian rank; see note on l. 43.

132. tessellae: 'dice,' usually *tesserae;* see § 41, 1, *d.* **calculus**: one of the counters with which various games were played.

133. ipsa...cultellorum: on caesura and cadence, see §§ 147, *c* and 152.

136. structor: see note on 5, 120. **omnis**: see § 59, *b.*

137. pergula: usually nothing but a roof projecting from the wall of a house. Such booths were used as shops, studios, and for other purposes; here it is the quarters of the carving school (notes on l. 141 and 5, 121), in 6A, 29 (p. 41) a place for punishing slaves.

139. Scythicae volucres: 'pheasants,' supposed to have come originally from Colchis, where the Phasis flows into the Euxine; cf. Petron. 119, 36 f. *Phasidos undaverbata est avibus.* Hence it was called *Phasidis ales, ales Phasiacis petita Colchis, Phasiana avis,* or *phasiana.*[1]

141. ulmea cena: wooden models were used for illustration and practice in the school of carving (note on l. 137). **Subura**: see note on 3, 5.

142. subducere: the prefix shows the sneak-thief; cf. 13, 152 *ducat* and see § 44.[2] **Afrae...avis**: 'guinea-hen,' a dainty often associated with the pheasant, e.g. Petron. 93 *ales Phasiacis petita Colchis atque Afrae volucres placent palato.*

143. noster: sc. *puer*, i.e. the waiter.

144. ofellae: Mart. XII, 48, 17 *me meus ad subitas invitet amicus ofellas* (pot-luck); id. X, 48, 15 *quae non egeant ferro structoris ofellae.*

[1] Stat. *Silv.* IV, 6, 8; Petron. 93; Plin. *N. H.* X, 132; ib. XI, 114.

[2] Cf. schol. *subtrahens* and see note on 1, 15.

145. assibus emptos: cf. 5, 60; Mart. IX, 59, 22 *asse duos calices emit.*

146. incultus: Sen. *Dial.* IX, 1, 7 *minister incultus et rudis vernula.*

147. Phryx aut Lycius: the expensive waiter in 5, 56 is *flos Asiae.* **a mangone**: 6B, 1 (p. 41) *mangonum pueros. Mango* is probably borrowed from a Germanic word for 'slave-trader'; see § 46, *c.*[1]

148. et magno: see § 94 and note on 5, 56.[2] **cum posces**: see § 109. **Latine**: unlike the fashionable Asiatic, this slave does not speak Greek.

149. tonsi: Mart. X, 98, 9 f. *tonsos, horridulos, rudes, pusillos hircosi mihi filios subulci* (of waiters); see notes on 3, 186; 8, 128; 15, 137.

152. longo . . . tempore: the same as *diu;* see note on 7, 41.

154. vultus: 'expression'; *facies* would have been ablative; see G.-L. § 400, R. 1.

155. ardens purpura: i.e. *toga praetexta;* so *purpura* in Hor. *Epod.* 5, 7 and Pers. 5, 30. Cf. Mrs. Browning, *Victoria's Tears,* 'She saw no purple shine' and see notes on 1, 78 and 10, 27. *Quos . . . vestit* means the really *ingenui;* for uses of *ingenuus,* cf. 3, 131 with 2, 16.

157. alas: Sen. *Ep.* 114, 14 *ne alas quidem vellit;* see note on 10, 178.

159. hic . . . dabit: same words in Mart. XIV, 112. **diffusa**: see notes on 5, 30, 34. The wine may be *vile Sabinum;* see note on 7, 121.

161. patria: on order of words, see § 124, *a* and on elision, § 155, end.

162. Gaditana: sc. *carmina.* Dancing girls from Gades, here accompanied by a band of singers, often furnished for banquets entertainment which was more popular than respectable; cf. Plin. *Ep.* 1, 15, 2 (to a friend who had not accepted his invitation to dinner) *audisses comoedos vel lectorem vel lyristen vel, quae mea liberalitas, omnes. at tu apud nescio quem ostrea, . . . Gaditanas* (sc. *puellas*) *maluisti.*

168. urticae: literally 'nettles'; cf. 2, 128 and our metaphorical use.

171. non capit: see note on 10, 148.

172. testarum: 'castanets,' with which *Gaditanae* accompanied their movements. **stans**: see note on 1, 47.

173. fornice: see note on 3, 156. **quibus**: on the order, see § 125, *b.*

175. Lacedaemonium . . . orbem: the floor is a mosaic with circular pieces of the highly esteemed green Laconian marble; cf. Stat. *Silv.* 1, 2, 148 f. *hic dura Laconum saxa virent* and see note on 14, 89.

[1] G. Hempl, Am. Jour. Phil., XXII, 1901, p. 431.

[2] So read *pω*; *P* has *in magno.* Following *P*, Buecheler in 1893 and Owen in 1902 read *erit: in magno* (sc. *poculo*), a doubtful construction for Juvenal; cf. 2, 95; 6, 304; 10, 25 f.; 12, 47; Cic. *Verr.* 1, 66 *poscunt maioribus poculis;* ib. III, 105; id. *Phil.* II, 63. Moreover, the mention of large cups, which marked the drinking bout, is inappropriate in a connection where temperance and frugality are the prevailing features. See also Polstorff, l. l. pp. 19 f. For the construction with *in*, cf. Seneca, quoted in note on 10, 26, and French 'je bois dans mon verre' (A. de Musset).

pytismate: the disgusting practice of taking wine into the mouth to taste and then ejecting it on the floor; cf. Ter. *Heaut.* 457 f. *pytissando modo mihi quid vini absumpsit;* Hor. *C.* II, 14, 26 f.

176. ibi: i.e. *in eo;* see note on 8, 64. **fortunae**: 'rank,' as in 8, 74. **alea**: see note on 1, 88.

177. mediocribus: in contrast with *illi*, the rich and noble; see note on 5, 108. **haec eadem**: see § 61, *a*.

179. convivia: see § 48. **ludos**: some form of entertainment such as music, dancing, recitation, or even dramatic performance was a common accompaniment of a Roman dinner; cf. 5, 157; Varro, *Menipp.* 340 (Buecheler) *in convivio legi nec omnia debent et ea potissimum quae simul sint* βωφελῆ *et delectent.* See note on l. 162.

181. altisoni: with reference to the elevated style of the epic; no other instance of this transferred use is cited. **dubiam . . . palmam**: the blue-stocking in 6, 436 f. discusses the comparative merits of Homer and Vergil; cf. Quintil. X, 1, 85 (*Vergilius*) *omnium eius generis poetarum . . . haud dubie* (*Homero*) *proximus.*

182. qua voce: Encolpius at the table of Trimalchio thought otherwise; cf. Petron. 68 *servus . . . proclamavit subito canora voce: 'interea medium Aeneas iam classe tenebat.' nullus sonus unquam acidior percussit aures meas . . . ut tunc primum me etiam Vergilius offenderit.* **legantur**: cf. l. 180 *cantabitur;* 4, 35 *cantandum.*

184. licebat: 'was permissible'; see § 72, *a*, (1) and note on 4, 85.

185. non: see § 77 and on ellipsis of *sit*, § 138, *a*.

188. multicia: cf. 2, 66 and 76. Such references to the wife of a friend seem scarcely polite, to say the least; but Persicus may not be a real person or may have been unmarried (Weidner) or Juvenal may in this way be giving a side-thrust at women of high degree. See § 22.[1]

191. pone: i.e. *depone;* see § 44. **illis**: see G.-L. § 354, N. 1.

192. perit: see note on 1, 18 *perituraе.*

193. Megalesiacae . . . mappae: see note on 3, 138. The festival of the Μεγάλη Μήτηρ, hence called *Megalesia* (6, 69) or *ludi Megalenses*, lasted from April 4 to 10, and concluded with races. *Mappa* stands for *circenses* (note on 3, 223), since the signal for starting was the dropping of a *mappa*. See also note on 14, 262. **spectacula**: 'spectators'; see note on 8, 205.

[1] J. Jessen, Philologus, LIX, 1900, pp. 519 f. calls attention to the *mutitationes cenarum* which were usual among the nobility on the occasion of the *Megalesia;* cf. *Fast. Praen.* for April 4 (C.I.L. I², p. 235); Ovid. *Fast.* IV, 353 ff. If Juvenal has in mind the high-born lady who spent the days of the festival in this kind of revelry, his words could give no offence to one of lower rank.

194. similisque triumpho: *quasi triumphans* (gloss *p*). The bold use of *triumphus* is due to excessive condensation ; see note on 12, 40.

195. praeda: because the races cost him so much. On the *pompa circensis*, see notes on 10, 36 ff. **caballorum**: see note on 3, 118.

197. hodie: i.e. April 10 ; see note on l. 193. **circus capit**: see notes on 3, 223 and 10, 148. **fragor aurem percutit**: cf. Lucr. VI, 163 *fragor concussit Caesaris aures.*

198. viridis: the green party is usually *factio prasina ;* see note on 5, 143. The distinctive colors of the other *factiones* in the races were red (*russata :* note on 7, 114), white (*alba*), and blue (*veneta*), each of which had its supporters. At this time the green seems to have been the favorite.[1] **panni**: i.e. the jockey's tunic; cf. Plin. *Ep.* IX, 6, 2.

199. maestam: Cassiod. *Var.* III, 51 *transit prasinus, pars populi maeret: praecedit venetus et ocius turba civitatis affligitur.*

200. pulvere: Liv. XXII, 46, 9 says that clouds of dust were driven by the wind in the faces of the Romans at Cannae ; see note on 10, 165.

202. sponsio: 'bet,' 'wager' ; cf. 6A, 27 (p. 41) *sponsio fiat.* **cultae**: cf. the preparations of Ogulnia in 6, 352 f. **adsedisse puellae**: there was no segregation of the sexes in the circus ; cf. Ovid, *Trist.* II, 283 f. *non tuta licentia circi est ; hic sedet ignoto iuncta puella viro.*

203. bibat . . . solem: Mart. X, 12, 7 *totos avida cute combibe soles ;* Pers. 4, 18 *adsiduo curata cuticula sole.* The Romans had great faith in the efficacy of the sunbath (*apricatio*), especially for old people. **contracta**: *senio rugosa* (gloss *p*) ; cf. 14, 325 *rugam trahit.*

204. togam: see notes on 1, 96 and 3, 172.

205. fronte: see notes on 8, 189; 13, 242. **supersit**: see § 113, *a*.

206. sextam: sc. *horam ;* this was about noon in April, growing later as summer advanced, since the solar day was divided into twelve equal parts. See note on 10, 216. The bath is here taken much earlier than usual; for public baths, as a rule, were not opened till about the eighth, i.e. one hour before the regular *cena*. See note on 3, 263. **quinque diebus continuis**: 'steadily for *any* length of time' ; five days stand for any short time, e.g. Hor. *Sat.* I, 3, 16 and *Epist.* I, 7, 1.

207. talis quoque taedia vitae: cf. Iliad, XIII, 636 *πάντων μὲν κόρος ἐστὶ καὶ ὕπνου καὶ φιλότητος* and Pind. *Nem.* 7, 53 *κόρον δ' ἔχει καὶ μέλι καὶ τὰ τέρπν' ἄνθε' Ἀφροδίσια.*

[1] On their quarters in Rome, see R. Wünsch, *Sethian. Verfluchungstafeln aus Rom*, p. 67 ; Hülsen, *Nomen. Topog.*, s. v. *stabula.*

SATIRE XII

A MARVELLOUS ESCAPE

In this satire Juvenal must be found guilty on charges of weakness, ambiguity, and obscurity, especially in the description of the storm (ll. 18–82). Some have objected to his inconsistency in bringing together subjects so dissimilar as thanksgiving for a friend's escape from shipwreck (ll. 1–92) and a bitter attack on legacy-hunters (ll. 93–130), and the objection is not without force. Still, these subjects are not entirely unconnected. The satirist expresses genuine joy at the safe return of Catullus and then defends himself from the imputation of sinister motives. When once *captatio* is mentioned, his tendency to digress carries him into the subject ; see § 141 and notes on ll. 82 and 104.

1. natali . . . dulcior : Hor. *C.* IV, 11, 17 f. (the birthday of Maecenas) *iure sollemnis mihi sanctiorque paene natali proprio.* **Corvine :** the persons addressed in *Sat.* II–16 are unknown.

2. caespes : Ovid, *Trist.* V, 5, 9 *araque gramineo viridis de caespite fiat;* Hor. *C.* III, 8, 4. Altars of turf are erected on the Capitol before the shrines of the deities to be mentioned ; see notes on ll. 84 ff.

3. niveam reginae : cf. 6, 48 and see note on 10, 65. Victims must be offered to the Capitoline divinities, Juno Regina, Minerva, and Jupiter. **agnam :** Ovid, *Trist.* I, 10, 43 *meritae cadet agna Minervae.*

4. vellus : i.e. *agna* or *hostia ;* cf. l. 112 *ebur* = elephant. **Gorgone :** Minerva's aegis, in the centre of which is the head of Medusa, the Gorgon of Libya (hence *Maura*).[1] See § 142 and note on 11, 106.

5. procul extensum : 'taut.'

6. coruscat : usually intransitive, as in 3, 254, but with objects like *hastam, telam,* etc., especially in epic, e.g. Verg. *Aen.* XII, 431.

7. templis maturus et arae : see §§ 83, *b,* (4) and 124, *d.*

8. spargendusque mero : preliminary to the sacrifice ; cf. Verg. *Aen.* IV, 61 *candentis vaccae media inter cornua fundit.*

9. vexat . . . robora cornu : Verg. *Geo.* III, 232 f. *irasci in cornua discit arboris obnixus trunco.*

10. res ampla domi : see note on 3, 165. **adfectibus :** 'feelings,' in this period usually for tender feelings of love or sympathy ; so 6, 214 and 15, 150. On the case, see § 83, *a.*

11. Hispulla : the name occurs also in 6, 74 ; see § 24.

[1] The origin of this conception may have been the primitive garb of goat-skin with the skull hanging in front ; see C. A. Hutton, Jour. Hell. Stud., XVII, 1897, pp. 314 f.

13. laeta ... pascua: Hor. *C.* IV, 4, 14 *laetis caprea pascuis intenta.* **Clitumni:** a river of Umbria, celebrated for the fine pastures which it watered. The excellence of the victim is emphasized by calling it *sanguis* and *cervix* (note on I, 64); cf. English 'blood' = 'breed,' with reference to animals.[1]

14. a grandi ... ministro: on the construction, see § 97, *b*.

21. conferri: 'to be compared,' as in 13, 144, 147, 154; cf. 14, 20.

22. velis ardentibus: 'a ship on fire,' 'a fire at sea.'

23. poetica: 'in poetry,' as e.g. in Verg. *Aen.* I, 84 ff.; Val. Fl. I, 608 ff.; see notes on l. 120 and 13, 113.

25. sint: see § 113, *a*. The subject, *cetera*, refers to all features of the shipwreck except the one about to be mentioned in ll. 37 ff.

27. votiva ... tabella: paintings of shipwrecks were often hung in temples in fulfilment of vows made in the hour of peril; cf. 14, 302; Cic. *N. D.* III, 89 *nonne animadvertis ex tot tabulis pictis, quam multi votis vim tempestatis effugerint?*

28. Iside: the Egyptian goddess who was especially able to succor in time of shipwreck; see note on 13, 93.

30. plenus fluctu medius: 'half full of water'; see § 95. **foret:** see § 69, *c*.

32. arboris incertae: on the construction, see § 85. *Incertae* is explained by the ablative absolute in l. 31. *Arbor*, 'mast,' is not rare in poetry, e.g. Verg. *Aen.* V, 504, and occurs in prose, e.g. Plin. *Ep.* IX, 26, 4 *curvatur arbor, gubernacula gemunt.*[2]

33. rectoris: *gubernatoris* (gloss *p*). **decidere:** 'compromise,' a common judicial technical sense, e.g. *Dig.* XII, 6, 26, 12 *cum patrono decidit pecunia* ('for cash') *et solvit.* The amount paid is here *iactu*, for *iactura* (3, 125); cf. Sen. *Troad.* 1037 f. *medioque iactum fecit in ponto.*

34. castora: the story that the beaver saved his life by biting off the part desired for medicinal use was widely believed in antiquity.

36. testiculi; adeo: the pause makes this hiatus tolerable; see § 156.

39. teneris ... Maecenatibus: see § 50 and note on I, 66. The inventory of his goods shows that Catullus was a merchant.

40. alias: sc. *vestes.* The passage is obscure from excessive condensation (note on II, 194), for *pecus* signifies not only the sheep but the wool which they produce. We may paraphrase: 'other garments, made of wool to which the quality of the fine pasture gave the tint while it was still on the sheep's back.' *Quarum* depends upon *pecus.*

[1] See the delightful address by v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, 'An den Quellen des Clitumnus,' in *Reden und Vorträge*, pp. 256 ff.

[2] Lewis understood *arboris* as the ship and *puppis* (31) as the stern.

41. fons: the river Baetis (Guadalquivir) was thought to give a bright tint to the wool of the sheep pastured on its banks; cf. Mart. XIV, 133 *lacernae Baeticae. non est lana mihi mendax...me mea tinxit ovis;* Verg. *Ecl.* 4, 44.[1] On the cadence, see p. lxix.

43. argentum: see note on I, 76.

44. Parthenio: 'for Parthenius,' the well-known freedman of Domitian.[2] **urnae:** a measure of liquids = 4 *congii* = 24 *sextarii;* cf. 6, 426 f. and see § 88.

45. Pholo: a centaur whose weapon in the fight with the Lapithae was a huge *crater;* cf. Stat. *Th.* II, 563 f. *in adversos Lapithas erexit inanem magnanimus cratera Pholus;* Stesich. fr. 7 Bergk. **Fusci:** unknown; the name occurs also in 16, 46.

46. bascaudas: *vasa ubi calices lavantur* (schol.); in Mart. XIV, 99 it is one of a series of cups, *barbara de pictis veni bascauda Britannis.* The word is probably of Celtic origin; see § 46, *b*.[3]

47. caelati: sc. *argenti*; see note on 10, 19. **quo:** see note on 11, 148 (footnote). **Olynthi:** in 347 B.C. Philip of Macedon captured Olynthus by bribing two of the leading citizens to open the gates; cf. Sen. *Ep.* 94, 62 (*civitates*) *quas aut vicerat Philippus aut emerat* and see § 142. Objects which had belonged to famous persons were naturally the most valuable; hence a remarkable history was often furnished with a goblet or a statue. For example, the little Hercules Epitrapezios of Lysippus, seen by Martial and Statius on the table of Novius Vindex, was said to have been treasured by Alexander, Hannibal, and Sulla.[4]

48. qua ... quis: on the two interrogatives, see § 62, *d*.

50. patrimonia: see note on I, 138. Ll. 50, 51 are irrelevant; see § 37.[5]

52. utilium: such as the ship's stores. **nec:** see § 78.

54. reccidit: the double consonant is the result of reduplication and syncope, as in *repperi, rettuli, reppuli.*[6] **ferro summitteret:** 'lower with an axe,' ironical for *praecideret.*

55. explicat: as often in Vergil, the present denotes the result of the action expressed by the preceding instantaneous perfect; cf. *Aen.* I, 84 f.; II, 724, and see G.-L. § 230, N. 2. **angustum:** 'by squeezing,' as of a

[1] Cf. Macrob. III, 7, 2 and see F. Granger, Class. Rev., XIV, 1900, p. 24.

[2] See *Pros. Imp. Rom.* Others, following the scholiast, translate 'by Parthenius,' but no such *caelator* is known.

[3] See Holder, *Alt-celt. Sprachschatz*, I, p. 354.

[4] Mart. IX, 43 and 44; Stat. *Silv.* IV, 6.

[5] See S. G. Owen, Class. Rev., IX, 1895, p. 348.

[6] The double consonant in the present, e.g. Lucr. I, 1063 *reccidere*, Ovid, *Met.* VI, 212 *reccidas* (assimilation from *redc-*), Lucr. I, 228 *redducere*, is quite a different matter; see Munro on Lucr. I, 228 and L. Müller, *De Re Metr.*[2], p. 448, who cite this passage as a present.

person escaping with difficulty from a tight place: cf. Stat. *Th.* II, 593 f. *manet ille ruentes angustus telis et inexpugnabilis obstat.* **discriminis ultima**: see § 86.

56. factura: on the use of the future participle, see § 118, *d*.

57. i nunc et: *Carm. Epig.* 950, 3 *i nunc, ventis tua gaudia...crede*; see note on 10, 166.

58. digitis...taedae: 'inches of pine'; strictly speaking *digitus* was less than an inch, as 16 *digiti* = 1 *pes* = ¾ *cubitus*. The Roman hand was perhaps smaller than ours; cf. Eng. 'hand' = 4 inches. With the thought cf. Sen. *Med.* 307 f. (of sailors) *inter vitae mortisque vias nimium gracili limite ducto.*

60. mox: 'after this.' **reticulis et pane**: Hor. *Sat.* I, 1, 47 *reticulum panis.* **ventre lagonae**: see § 52.

62. planum: on the proleptic use, see § 56. **tempora**: see § 138, *a*.

63. vectoris fatumque: see §§ 17 and 125, *g*. **valentius**: see § 57, *c*.

65. staminis albi: dependent on *lanificae*. The white thread was a sign of good fortune; cf. Mart. VI, 58, 7 f. *si mihi lanificae ducunt non pulla sorores stamina* and see note on 3, 27.

66. multum fortior: see § 57, *b*.

69. velo...suo: the small fore-sail (*dolon*), which was independent of the mast; cf. Isid. *Or.* XIX, 3, 3. **austris**: the same wind as *euro* in l. 63; see § 137.[1]

70. gratus Iulo...apex: i.e. *mons Albanus*, where Ascanius (Iulus), the son of Aeneas, founded Alba Longa (note on 4, 60), leaving Lavinium to his stepmother, after whom it was named; cf. Liv. I, 3, 3.

71. sedes: in apposition with *apex*. **praelata Lavino**: cf. 5, 45. *Lavinum* is used for *Lavinium*; cf. Serv. *Aen.* I, 2; Prop. II, 34, 64.[2]

73. scrofa: cf. 6, 177. It was foretold that, on the spot where Aeneas should find a white sow with a litter of thirty pigs, Ascanius after thirty years would found Alba Longa; cf. Verg. *Aen.* VIII, 43 ff; ib. III, 389 ff. **miserabile**: probably in an active sense, 'taking pity on'; so the scholiast, who interprets also the reading *mirabile*.[3]

75. moles: this harbor was built by Claudius two miles N. of Ostia and connected with the Tiber by a canal. Later it was improved by Trajan, who added an inner basin with docks on all sides (l. 81 *stagna*). The work is described by Suet. *Claud.* 20 *ad introitum profundo iam salo mole obiecta.*[4]

[1] Jessen, Philologus, LIX, 1900, p. 509, suggests *astris* for *austris*; cf. 5, 22.

[2] See Rothstein's note.

[3] *Mirus* and *miser* with their derivatives are sometimes confused in Mss., e.g. Ovid, *Her.* 12. 99 (101); Val. Fl. VII, 337. Some editors take *venerabilis* in 15, 143 also as active; see note on 8, 58.

[4] On the *portus Augusti*, see C.I.L. XIV, pp. 6 ff.

76. pharon: the island of Pharos, lying off Alexandria, was so famed for its lighthouse that the word became a common noun in Latin, e.g. Val. Fl. VII, 84 f.; cf. Suet. l. l. *altissimam turrem in exemplum Alexandrini Phari.* **bracchia**: Suet. l. l. *circumducto dextra sinistraque bracchio.* The sides of the harbor were formed by long piers, which sloped inward in long finger-like curves (*rursum*) and left only a narrow entrance.

79. trunca: cf. l. 54. **magister**: Sil. IV, 717 *magister puppis.*

80. Baianae . . . cumbae: see notes on 3, 4 and 4, 140. Even little row-boats, such as might be seen on *lacus Lucrinus*, were safe here.

81. tuti stagna: Claud. *Bell. Gild.* I, 523 f. *efficitur portus medium mare, tutaque ventis omnibus ingenti mansuescunt stagna recessu;* see note on l. 75. **vertice raso**: persons in peril at sea vowed to shave their heads if they were saved; this is the *naufragorum ultimum votum* of Petron. 103.

82. garrula: logically with *nautae;* see § 130. **narrare**: see § 116, *d.*

The satirist now returns to the subject, from which he digressed (ll. 17–82) to explain the reason for the sacrifice; see § 141.

83. linguis animisque faventes: 'without ill-omened word or thought.' An exhortation to keep silence was the preliminary to a sacrifice; cf. Hor. *C.* III, 1, 2 *favete linguis.*

84. delubris: see note on l. 2. **farra**: i.e. *mola salsa*, which was sprinkled over the head of the victim, the altar, and the sacrificial knives; cf. Serv. *Aen.* II, 133.

86. sequar: sc. *ad Capitolium*, for the more important ceremonies.

88. simulacra: cf. 9, 137 f.; 13, 233. **fragili . . . cera**: wax was melted and mixed with oil to make a varnish for the images of the Lares; cf. Plin. *N. H.* XXXIII, 122. Like any varnish it was liable to crack (hence *fragili*) and peel off after a time, especially when exposed to the heat of the hearth-fire.[1]

90. colores: Plin. *N. H.* XXI, 27 (*violarum*) *plura genera, purpureae luteae albae. Viola* is an elastic word, including many varieties.[2]

91. erexit ianua ramos: see note on 10, 65.

92. operatur: 'joins in the celebration'; this absolute use is but a step removed from expressions like Liv. I, 31, 8 *operatum iis sacris.*

93. suspecta tibi sint: 6 A, 23 *suspectus tibi sit;* see note on 3, 129.

94. tot pono altaria: see note on l. 2.

97. sterili: 'unprofitable'; cf. 5, 140; Mart. X, 18, 3 *turba tamen non*

[1] Others, following Munro (in Mayor), refer to the crumbling of wax as it melts.
[2] See Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen*, p. 253.

deest, sterilem quae curet amicum. **cŏturnix**: so Ovid, *Am.* II, 6, 27, but *cōturnix* in Plaut. *Asin.* 666 ; id. *Capt.* 1003 ; Lucr. IV, 641.

98. cadet: i.e. as a sacrifice. **sentire calorem**: 'suffer from fever'; cf. Sulpicia in Tibull. III, 17, 2 *mea nunc vexat corpora fessa calor.*

99. Gallitta: a pet name for Galla, also in Plin. *Ep.* VI, 31, 4 ; cf. 2, 68 *Pollitta* and Ital. 'Giulietta.' These and similar names, e.g. Bonitta, Favitta, Iulitta, Nonitta, occur in inscriptions, especially in those of Africa.[1] **orbi**: see note on 3, 129. The use of a verb in the singular with two subjects and a plural adjective is harsh, but not more so than Caes. *B. C.* I, 2, 7 *intercedit M. Antonius, Q. Cassius tribuni plebis;* cf. Cic. *Verr.* IV, 92 *dixit...Zosippus et Ismenias, homines.*[2]

100. libellis: possibly hung in the home of the sick man, but probably placed as placards on the walls of a temple ; see note on 10, 55.

102. quatenus: see § 101 and cf. our familiar 'as long as' for 'since.'

103. nec...aut : see § 80. Juvenal is easily led into a digression.

104. belua: see note on 10, 158. **furva gente**: see note on 11, 124.

105. Rutulis: at this time the emperor's elephants may have been kept at Ardea, the home of the Rutuli ; on the other hand, *Rutulus,* as in 6, 637, may be an equivalent for *Romanus.*

107. privato: none but the emperor was allowed to have elephants ; see note on 1, 16. **siquidem**: see § 99. **Tyrio**: because Carthage was a Phoenician colony.

108. Hannibali: see note on 10, 158. **regi Molosso**: i.e. Pyrrhus, from whom the Romans learned the use of elephants in war (280 B.C.).

110. aliquam: 'a considerable'; cf. 1, 74 ; 3, 230 ; Verg. *Aen.* X, 426 f. *Lausus, pars ingens belli.* **belli, et**: on hiatus, see § 156. **turrem**: object of *ferre.*

111. Novium...Histrum Pacuvium: typical for *captatores;* see note on 3, 129. **quin**: only here in Juvenal ; cf. 6, 333 f. *mora nulla per ipsam quo minus...summittat.*

112. ebur: Verg. *Aen.* III, 464 *elephanto* = *ebore ;* see note on l. 4.

114. horum: the Lares, the representatives of the master of the house.

115. alter: i.e. Pacuvius ; cf. l. 125. **concedas**: see § 108, *b.*

118. vittas: the ribbon knotted around the flock of wool (*infula*) worn by victims at a sacrifice ; here, as often, *vittae* means the whole fillet. See also note on 4, 9.

119. Iphigenia: = *filia ;* see § 51. She was the daughter of Agamemnon, king of Mycenae, sacrificed at Aulis to appease an angry deity.

120. tragicae: 'in the tragedy' ; see note on l. 23 *poetica.* In Eurip.

[1] See Mommsen, *Ephem. Epig.*, IV, p. 522 ; A.L.L. VIII, p. 496 ; ib. XII, p. 299.

[2] Buecheler punctuates *Pacius, orbi* and takes *orbi* as genitive.

Iph. Taur. 28 f. Iphigenia was secretly snatched from the altar and a fawn substituted; see note on l. 127. **piacula**: see § 48.

122. mille rates: the Greek fleet in *Iliad* II numbers 1186 ships, but the later poets usually speak of it in round numbers; cf. Aesch. *Agam.* 45 στόλον Ἀργείων χιλιοναύταν; Plaut. *Bacch.* 928 *mille cum numero navium.* **Libitinam**: *mortem* (gloss *p*). This ancient Italian goddess of gardens, vineyards, and, in general, of sensuous delights was sometimes associated with Venus; cf. Varro, *L. L.* VI, 47 *ab lubendo... Venus Libentina et Libitina.* She was also regarded as the goddess of death, for in her temple all requisites for funerals were kept; see note on 3, 32 *portandum.*

123. tabulas: see note on 1, 63 and cf. 14, 55. **nassae**: cf. Cic. *Att.* XV, 20, 2 *ex hac nassa exire constitui.* Horace also compares the legacy-hunter to a fisherman (*Sat.* II, 5, 44).

124. meritum: he attributes his recovery to the vow of Pacuvius.

125. forsan... dabit: see § 71, *b*. **breviter**: see note on 1, 68.

127. grande operae pretium: cf. 14, 281. **Mycenis**: Ovid, *Met.* XII, 34 *supposita fertur mutasse Mycenida cerva;* see note on l. 119.

128. Nestora: i.e. the age of Nestor; cf. Mart. X, 24, 11 *post hunc Nestora nec diem rogabo* and see note on 10, 246.[1]

129. rapuit Nero: Tac. *Ann.* XV, 45 and Suet. *Ner.* 26 and 32 speak of Nero's wholesale robberies both in Italy and elsewhere. **montibus aurum**: a common proverb; cf. Ter. *Phor.* 68 *modo non montis auri pollicens.*[2]

130. nec... ullo: Cic. *Lael.* 32 *quis est... qui velit, ut neque diligat quemquam nec ipse ab ullo diligatur, circumfluere omnibus copiis atque in omnium rerum abundantia vivere.*

SATIRE XIII

CONSOLATION TO ONE WHO HAS BEEN DEFRAUDED

The satirist writes to his friend Calvinus to console him for the loss of a sum of money, of which he has been defrauded. "You should not take to heart the loss of a small sum in times like these, when fraud is common and honesty is rare (ll. 1–70). Men receive one's money, and then swear by all the gods they never had it, not deterred by a penalty which comes slowly or may never come at all (ll. 71–119). And you have no real reason to complain, for many greater crimes are committed

[1] See Otto, *Sprichwörter*, s. v. Nestor, 1; Sutphen, Am. Jour. Phil., XXII, 1901, p. 253.
[2] See Otto, l. l. s. v. *mons;* Sutphen, l. l. p. 249.

every day (ll. 120–173). Revenge is sweet, perhaps, but is contrary to the highest wisdom. The criminal will live a life of terror and mental torment, and will finally pay the penalty of his crimes (ll. 174–249)."

Though characterized by monotonous commonplace and tedious repetition, this satire contains passages which bear comparison with anything Juvenal has written. Cf. e.g. ll. 91 ff. and 217 ff.

1. committitur: so l. 104 ; *admittere*, found in l. 237 ; 6, 494 ; 10, 258, 340, is the usual word in this connection.

2. displicet: Sen. *Ep.* 42, 2 *nec ulla maior poena nequitiae est quam quod sibi ac suis displicet.* **prima est haec ultio**: the sting of remorse is a common subject, e.g. Sen. *Dial.* v, 26, 2 *maxima est enim factae iniuriae poena fecisse, nec quisquam gravius adficitur quam qui ad supplicium paenitentiae traditur.*

4. vicerit: 'has won the case' ; cf. 1, 50 *victrix* and see § 114, *a.* **urna**: probably the receptacle in which were deposited the ballots of the *iudices* at the close of the trial.[1]

5. Calvine: the persons addressed in *Sat.* 11–16 are unknown.

6. fidei violatae: the nature of the crime is explained in ll. 71 ff.

8. iacturae: 'loss,' as in l. 177 ; for the primary idea of throwing overboard, which is still preserved in our technical terms 'jettison,' 'jetsam,' cf. 3, 125 ; 12, 52. **mergat**: see note on 10, 57.

9. multis hic cognitus: 12, 26 *cognita multis.*

10. e medio ... acervo: hence not unusual. On tautology, see § 139.

11. ponamus: i.e. *deponamus ;* see § 44. **flagrantior**: see § 57, *c.*

12. vulnere maior: on this use of the comparative, see § 57, *e.*

13. quamvis levium: on *quamvis* with adjectives, see § 114, *b.*

14. spumantibus ... visceribus: Sen. *Oed.* 358 *felle nigro tabidum spumat iecur ;* Aesch. *Agam.* 1034 *ζωπυρουμένας φρενός* ; see note on 1, 45.

16. depositum: Plin. *ad Trai.* 96, 7 Christians took oath *ne fidem fallerent, ne depositum appellati abnegarent.* Such a breach of trust does not seem to have been unusual. **post terga reliquit**: Luc. 1, 369 ; Stat. *Th.* v, 507 ; Sil. xvi, 335.

17. Fonteio consule: as Fonteius Capito was consul in 67 A.D., the date of this satire may be set soon after 127 ; see § 10 and note on 15, 27.

18. in melius ... proficit: an awkward phrase, formed on the analogy of the common *in melius mutari*, which occurs first in Sallust.[2]

20. victrix fortunae: Sen. *Ep.* 71, 30 *sapiens quidem vincit virtute for-*

[1] Others understand the receptacle from which the presiding magistrate drew the names of the *iudices* before the trial ; Friedl., following Serv. *Aen.* vi, 431, thinks of the drawing of lots to decide in what order cases should be brought on.

[2] See E. Klebs, *Festschrift für Friedl.*, p. 225.

tunam. **sapientia**: 'philosophy,' as *sapiens* is the philosopher in 10, 28 ; cf. l. 189 ; 14, 321 ; Cic. *Fin.* I, 13, 42 *sapientia, quae ars vivendi putanda est.* See § 17 and note on 7, 190.

22. iactare iugum: for the metaphor, cf. 6, 208 *ferre iugum.*

23. cesset prodere: see § 116, *a.*

25. pyxide: strictly a box of box-wood (*πυξίς*), but commonly used for any little box, especially for toilet articles (Petron. 110), medicines (2, 141), or poison (Cic. *Cael.* 65). With the thought, cf. 1, 75 f.

27. Thebarum ... Nili: the number was seven in each case, Thebes in Boeotia being the city intended ; cf. Stat. *Th.* VIII, 351 f. (an assault on Thebes) *omnibus alae artantur portis septemque excursibus haerent ;* ib. 360 (*Nilus*) *scindit fontis opes septemque patentibus arvis in mare fert hiemes.* On Thebes in Egypt, see note on 15, 6. **divitis**: see § 58.

28. saecula: see § 48. **ferri temporibus**: Ovid, *Met.* I, 89 ff. names four ages, golden, silver, brazen, iron ; cf. 6, 23 f. *ferrea aetas ... argentea saecula.* The ablative follows *peiora,* which belongs also to *aetas.*

32. quanto: on ellipsis, see § 138, *c.* **agentem**: see note on 7, 122.

33. sportula: i.e. the clients themselves, who applaud their patron when he speaks in court ; see note on 1, 95. Cf. 7, 44 ; Mart. VI, 48 *quod tam grande sophos clamat tibi turba togata, non tu, Pomponi, cena diserta tua est.* **bulla**: see note on 5, 164.

34. veneres: 'charm' ; cf. the derivatives *venustus* and *venustas.*

36. ne peieret: cf. l. 89. **putet**: *ut* is understood ; cf. 16, 9.

37. rubenti: with blood shed in sacrifice.

38. indigenae: 'primitive man' ; cf. 6, 1–20, a charming picture of the golden age of innocence and purity, when Saturn was king.

39. sumeret: see § 105. **posito**: 6, 320 ; 10, 267 ; see § 44.

40. fugiens: Verg. *Aen.* VIII, 319 f. *ab aetherio venit Saturnus Olympo arma Iovis fugiens.* **virguncula**: see § 41, 1, *c.*

41. privatus: see note on 1, 16. **Idaeis**: the birthplace of Jupiter was Mount Ida in Crete; cf. Ovid, *Met.* VIII, 99 *Iovis incunabula Creten.* **antris**: on omission of *in,* see § 91. On ellipsis of copula, see § 138, *a.*

43. puer Iliacus: see note on 5, 59. **Herculis uxor**: Hebe, who poured out nectar for the gods to drink ; cf. *Iliad,* IV, 2 f.

44. ad cyathos: sc. *stabat ;* see note on 5, 65. **etiam**: *nec* omitted; see §§ 80, 137. **siccato nectare**: more regularly 5, 47 *siccabis calicem.*

45. Liparaea nigra taberna: see note on 1, 8. Vulcan comes to the feast all grimy from his forge ; but cf. *Iliad,* XVIII, 414.

48. Atlanta: he bore the heavens on his shoulders ; cf. Stat. *Th.* V, 430 *caelifer Atlas.* **minori**: on the form, see § 39.

49. pondere: great weight is usually attributed to the gods by the

Latin poets.[1] **aliquis**: i.e. Neptune, in Val. Fl. II, 605 *pater ipse profundi;* see § 142.

50. Sicula . . . coniuge: Proserpina, whom Pluto carried off from Henna in Sicily; cf. Ovid, *Met.* V, 391 ff.

51. rota . . . vulturis: typical punishments of the lower world, the wheel of Ixion, the stone of Sisyphus, and the vulture that preyed on the vitals of Tityus. **nec . . . aut**: see § 80.

53. admirabilis: 'remarkable'; cf. 6, 646 *admiratio*.

56. cuicumque: see § 63. **licet . . . videret**: see § 115.

57. glandis: also in 6, 10 and 14, 184 as the food of primitive men, among whom respect for the aged, be they never so poor, was universal.

60. nunc: Ter. *Ph.* 55 f. *ut nunc sunt mores . . . si quis quid reddit, magna habendast gratia.* **depositum**: see note on l. 16.

61. cum tota aerugine: with reference to the contents; cf. 14, 61. **follem**: 'money bag'; cf. 14, 281 *tenso folle*, 'with a full purse.'

62. prodigiosa: *prodigium* is a portent like those mentioned in ll. 64 ff. Such phenomena indicated divine wrath to be appeased by ceremony and sacrifice; cf. 2, 121. **Tuscis . . . libellis**: portents were interpreted by the *haruspices*, whose lore was embodied in the *Tusci libelli;* cf. Cic. *Har. Resp.* 25 *ex Etruscorum scriptis haruspices monerent.*

63. coronata: i.e. for sacrifice; see note on 12, 118.

64. egregium . . . virum: Cic. *Div.* II, 61 *sapientem esse portentum est; saepius enim mulam peperisse arbitror quam sapientem fuisse.* All of the following portents and many others are mentioned in ancient authors, especially in Livy.[2] **bimembri**: 'half human,' often used of Centaurs; cf. Liv. XXVII, 11, 5 *cum elephanti capite puerum natum.*[3]

66. piscibus: Liv. XLII, 2, 5 *in Gallico agro, qua induceretur aratrum, sub existentibus glebis pisces emersisse.* **mulae**: Plin. *N. H.* VIII, 173 *observatum . . . mulas non parere;* cf. Cic. quoted on l. 64.

67. lapides . . . imber: Liv. XXVI, 23, 5 *lapidibus pluvisse, et . . . mulam peperisse.*

68. examenque apium: Liv. XXIV, 10, 11 *apum examen in foro visum.* **uva**: of swarming bees also in Verg. *Geo.* IV, 558 and Plin. *N. H.* XI, 55.

69. culmine: on the omission of *in*, see § 91.

70. lactis: Liv. XLIV, 45, 7 *nuntiatum est Nare amni lac fluxisse.* The position suggests connection with both ablatives; see § 124, *b*.

[1] Cf. Ovid, *Met.* IV, 448 f.; ib. IX, 273; ib. XV, 693 f.; id. *Fast.* III, 330; Luc. I, 56 f.; Stat. *Th.* V, 430; ib. VII, 743, 750; id. *Silv.* I, 1, 56; Claud. IV. *Cons. Hon.* 572 ff. See Vollmer on Stat. *Silv.* I, 1, 19. An echo of this is heard in the Christopher legend.

[2] A record is given by Iulius Obsequens, *Prodigiorum Liber.*

[3] Some interpret *bimembri* as *bicipiti* (gloss *p*); cf. Liv. XLI, 21, 12 *biceps natus puer.*

72. sacrilega: cf. l. 15 f. *sacrum...depositum.*

74. ceperat: see note on 10, 148. **angulus arcae:** 'the hiding place of a money chest,' *arcae* being appositional genitive; cf. Pind. *Pyth.* 8, 79 *μυχῷ τ' ἐν Μαραθῶνος* and see note on 1, 90.[1]

75. facile et pronum est: cf. 9, 43. **contemnere:** cf. 3, 145.

76. nemō: vowel not elided in thesis; see § 157 and note on 8, 107.

78. Tarpeia: *Capitolini Iovis* (schol.); cf. 12, 6; 6, 47. **iurat:** cf. ll. 36 and 89. A similar list of divine weapons is in Luc. VII, 146 ff.

79. frameam: an ancient German word for spear, according to Tac. *Ger.* 6, 1;[2] cf. Gell. X, 25, 2 and see § 46, *c.* **Cirrhaei ... vatis:** see notes on 1, 18 and 7, 64.

80. venatricis: i.e. *Dianae;* on the use of nouns in *-trix*, see § 47, *a.*

83. quidquid habent: for similar clauses introduced to avoid further detail, cf. 6 A, 20 (p. 41); 10, 174 f.; 15, 99 f.

84. comedam: sc. *nisi vera dico.* The usual oath *ἐξώλειαν σαυτῷ καὶ γένει καὶ οἰκίᾳ τῇ σῇ ἐπαρώμενον* (Antiph. v, 11) is horribly exaggerated until it becomes a Thyestean oath with disgusting particulars; cf. Pers. 6, 70.[3]

85. Pharios ... aceto: Mart. XIII, 122 *Niliaci...aceti;* see note on 12, 76.

86. fortunae ... casibus: the satirist has in mind the theories of Epicurus, whom he mentions in l. 122 and 14, 319. This view of the world was often contrasted with that of the Stoics, who eliminated chance, and believed that all things were governed by inexorable fate; cf. Tac. *Ann.* VI, 22 *in incerto iudicium est, fatone res mortalium et necessitate immutabili an forte volvantur.* See § 17.

89. quaecumque: see § 63. On the three elisions, see § 155 end. **tangunt:** the solemnity of an oath was much enhanced by contact with the altar, the image of a god, or other sacred object; cf. Hannibal's oath in Liv. XXI, 1, 4 *altaribus admotum, tactis sacris, iure iurando adactum* and see notes on 3, 144 and 14, 219.

91. et: adversative; see § 74. **secum:** sc. *loquitur;* see § 138, *b.*

93. Isis: the prevalence of blindness in Egypt led to the belief that it was due to the anger of Isis; see note on 12, 28. **irato:** see § 130. **sistro:** a metal rattle shaken in the rites of Isis.

94. abnego: 'deny having received'; see note on l. 16.

95. dimidium crus: 'the loss of a leg'; see note on 8, 4 and p. lxix.

96. locupletem: gout is regarded as a disease of the rich; see § 130.

97. nec Ladas: 'not even a Ladas'; see § 78. Two famous runners,

[1] Friedl. and others interpret 'the chest filled to the corners.' See W. v. Christ, l. l. p. 136; A. Klotz, A.L.L. XII, p. 94.

[2] See the note of Furneaux.

[3] See R. Hirzel, *Der Eid*, p. 33.

victors in the Olympian contests, bore this name; cf. Mart. x, 100, 5 *alterum pedem Ladae.* **Anticyra**: two Greek cities of this name produced hellebore, the ancient cure for mental disorders; cf. Hor. *Sat.* II, 3, 83; Pers. 4, 16.

98. Archigene: a renowned physician, who flourished under Trajan, mentioned as a type also in 6, 236 and 14, 252.

99. esuriens: see §§ 45 and 130. **Pisaeae**: Pisa was a short distance E. of Olympia, with which it was often identified. The prize at Olympia was a wreath of olive; see note on 8, 225.

100. lenta ira: Sen. *Contr.* x, praef. 6 *sunt di immortales lenti quidem sed certi vindices generis humani;* Plin. *N. H.* II, 26 *poenasque maleficiis aliquando seras,... numquam autem inritas esse.*[1] This is the subject of Plutarch's famous work *De Sera Numinis Vindicta.*

101. curant ... punire: on the construction, see § 116, *b.*

105. tulit: so *abstulit* in 4, 19 and 8, 242; see §§ 44 and 72, *c*, (2).

108. ultro: 'actually,' marking the action as unexpected; thus often in the Silver period, e.g. Sen. *Med.* 856 *regi minatur ultro;* Plin. *Ep.* v, 16, 11. Juvenal describes the audacity of the perjurer with characteristic exaggeration; see note on l. 89. On the elisions, see § 155 end.

109. superest: 'is unbounded,' as in l. 237.

111. scurra: see note on 4, 31. **Catulli**: see note on 8, 186.

112. Stentora: he could shout as loudly as fifty men, but Ares (l. 113 *Gradivus* = Mars) as loudly as nine or ten thousand; cf. *Iliad*, v, 785 f., 859 f.

113. Homericus: 'in Homer'; see notes on 12, 23 and 120.

114. nec: on this adversative use, see § 75.

116. in carbone tuo: 'in thy censer' (Mayor). **charta**: in which the incense was wrapped; cf. Pers. 1, 43 *nec scombros metuentia carmina nec tus.* **pia**: see § 130.

118. ut video: 'for aught I see'; cf. 6, 395 *quod video.*

119. Vagelli: possibly the stupid rhetor of 16, 23, honored with a statue for his services; see note on 7, 125.

120. accipe: see § 140, *a.* **valeat ... ferre**: see § 116, *f.*

122. tunica: the Cynics resembled the Stoics in their view of life, but differed from them in their manner of dress, especially in giving up the χιτών. Their relation to the Stoics was somewhat like that of the mendicant friars to the secular clergy.[2] On Juvenal's knowledge of philosophy, see § 17. **non**: see § 80. **Epicurum**: see note on l. 86.

[1] For various forms of this proverb, see Mayor's note: Otto, *Sprichw.*, p. 111; Sonny, A.L.L. IX, pp. 59 f.; Sutphen, Am. Jour. Phil., XXII, 1901, p. 122.

[2] Friedl., *Sittengeschichte*, III[6], pp. 691 f., 722 ff.

123. exigui . . . horti: the Athenian garden of Epicurus was purchased for eighty minae and was the headquarters of his school. The epithets *exiguus* and *parvus* (14, 319) and the diminutive *hortuli* (Sen. *Ep.* 21, 10) suggest the idea of 'plain living and high thinking' which he professed. He especially recommended a vegetable diet; hence *laetum plantaribus.*

124. dubii: 'in a critical condition'; cf. Ovid, *Pont.* III, 4, 8 *ad medicam dubius confugit aeger opem.* **aegri**: see § 54.

125. venam: from which blood is to be let; cf. 6, 46. Possibly, however, the pulse is meant; cf. Tac. *Ann.* VI, 50, 4 (*medicus*) *pulsum venarum attigit;* Pers. 3, 107 *tange . . . venas.* **discipulo . . . Philippi**: 'to a medical student.' A Philippus was physician to Alexander the Great (Curt. III, 6, 1) and a Philippus is often named by Galen.

129. claudenda est ianua: a sign of mourning. News of the death of Germanicus in 19 A.D. so affected the people that *desererentur fora, clauderentur domus* (Tac. *Ann.* II, 82).

132. fingit: in contrast with l. 134 *lacrimis veris;* cf. Stat. *Silv.* III, praef. *cum lugeret veris, quod iam rarissimum est, lacrimis senem patrem.* **vestem diducere summam**: cf. Ovid, *Met.* III, 480 f. *dumque dolet, summa vestem diduxit ab ora nudaque marmoreis percussit pectora palmis* and see note on 10, 262.

133. contentus: with infinitive; see § 117. **umore coacto**: Verg. *Aen.* II, 196 *lacrimisque coactis; umor* for *lacrimae* also in 10, 32.

134. ploratur: poetic for *deploratur*, as in 14, 150; 15, 134. It is usually intransitive, as in 1, 50; see § 44. See also note on 7, 145.

135. fora: even before the end of the Republic the *forum Romanum* proved to be too small for the increasing legal and other business of the city. The need of more space was met by the construction, one after another, of the imperial *fora*, viz. *forum Caesaris, forum Augustum* (notes on 1, 128 f.), *forum transitorium* (*Nervae*), *forum Traiani.*

136. diversa parte: 'on the opposing side,' i.e. of the prosecution; see note on 7, 156. The accused debtor stoutly denies the genuineness of the document, which has been read several times in his presence, though it bears his own handwriting and seal.

137. ligni: the same as *tabellis;* see note on 1, 63. This verse is almost the same as 16, 41; see note on 1, 25.

138. gemma . . . sardonychum: see note on 8, 143; cf. 1, 68; 7, 144.

140. delicias: cf. 6, 47 and see note on 10, 291.

141. gallinae filius albae: *proverbium vulgare* (schol.), but only here in Latin literature; cf. Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*, 1, 2, 3, 10 '*gallinae filius albae*, an happy and fortunate man.' It may refer to some

fable or tale well known in antiquity, but the point of *albae* is not certain; the color suggests refinement and perhaps good luck. See § 138, *a*.

146. ianua: this naturally prevents escape; cf. 9, 98.

152. bratteolam: a statue of inferior material was sometimes covered with thin plates of precious metal, which could be removed by force. **Castore**: see note on 14, 260. **ducat**: see note on 11, 142.

153. Tonantem: a common epithet of Jupiter. This is scarcely the crime of a *minor sacrilegus* (l. 150), but Juvenal usually exaggerates.[1]

154. mercatoremque veneni: cf. 8, 17 and 9, 100.

155. corio bovis: i.e. the *culleus* of 8, 214 (see note). **cum quo**: see note on 4, 9.

157. quota pars scelerum: Sen. *Dial.* IV, 9, 3 *quota ista pars scelerum est;* see note on 3, 61. **custos ... urbis**: the *praefectus urbi*, satirically called *vilicus* in 4, 77; cf. Vell. II, 98, 1 *securitatis urbanae custodem;* Sen. *Ep.* 83, 14 *urbis custos.* This office was held by C. Rutilius Gallicus under Domitian; cf. Stat. *Silv.* I, 4, 16 and see § 21.

158. occidat: the press of criminal business compels work over hours.

160. domus: probably the court of the *praefectus urbi;* Friedl., however, thinks that any house at all is meant.

162. tumidum guttur: 'goitre,' a disease peculiar to high altitudes; cf. Shakespeare, *Tempest*, III, 3, 44 f. 'mountaineers ... whose throats had hanging at them wallets of flesh.'

163. Meroe: a large island in the upper Nile, mentioned also in 6, 528. The peculiarity here attributed to its people is characteristic of several African tribes, and is merely localized by Juvenal.[2]

164. caerula ... flavam: so Tac. *Ger.* 4 *caerulei oculi, rutilae comae.* These characteristics of Germans are often referred to in Latin writers.[3]

165. cornua: elsewhere *nodi*, e.g. Sen. *Dial.* V, 26, 3 *nec rufus crinis et coactus in nodum apud Germanos virum dedecet.* Construe *torquentem* with *caesariem;* see § 124, *a*.

167. Thracum volucres: Ovid, *A. A.* III, 182 *Threiciamve gruem.* On the battles of the cranes and the Pygmies of Ethiopia, cf. *Iliad*, III, 3 ff.

169. curvis unguibus: used metaphorically in 8, 129 f.

171. risu quatiare: see note on 3, 101.

172. spectentur: on the mood with *quamquam*, see § 113, *a*.

174. nullane: so 6, 161; see note on 1, 1 *numquamne.* **peiuri**: this spelling, here read in *P.* is found in good Mss., especially in the *Ambrosianus* of Plautus; see Brix-Niemeyer on *Trin.* 201. **capitis**:

[1] J. Jessen, Philologus, LIX, 1900, pp. 509 f., interprets *Tonantem* as Domitian; cf. Mart. VI, 10; VII, 99.

[2] See Ploss-Bartels, *Das Weib*, I[7], pp. 297 f. [3] A.L.L. XII, p. 20.

for the man himself, as e.g. Plaut. *Capt.* 229 f. *tu nunc vides pro tuo caro capite carum offerre me meum caput vilitati.*

177. iactura: see note on l. 8.

178. depositum: see note on l. 16.

179. invidiosa: emphatic position; the consolation to be derived from a bloody revenge is offset by the hatred which would be incurred. **solacia**: see § 48.[1]

181. indocti: sc. *dicunt;* see § 138, *b* and note on 11, 5.

182. flagrantia: for a similar figure, see note on l. 14.

184. Chrysippus: the third head of the Stoic school, succeeding Zeno and Cleanthes. **mite Thaletis ingenium**: see § 52. Thales was the earliest of the Greek philosophers. The epithet *mite* is quite in harmony with the facts and implies a contrast to the spirit of Chrysippus. For similar implied contrasts, cf. Hor. *C.* II, 17, 17 f.; ib. 13, 39 f.

185. Hymetto: the honey of Mount Hymettus, near Athens, was famous in antiquity; cf. Hor. *C.* II, 6, 14. The old man is Socrates, who at the age of seventy was accused, tried, and condemned to drink the hemlock (399 B.C.); see § 142.

186. saeva inter vincla: cf. 8, 217 *media inter pocula.* **cicutae**: see note on 7, 206.

187. accusatori . . . dare: Juvenal doubtless had in mind the different spirit of Theramenes, who in the same prison a few years earlier tossed off the poison and '*propino*' *inquit* '*hoc pulchro Critiae,' qui in eum fuerat taeterrimus. Graeci enim in conviviis solent nominare, cui poculum tradituri sint* (Cic. *Tusc.* I, 96). In the next section Cicero connects the death of Socrates with that of Theramenes. **nollet**: on the tense, see § 72, *a*, (2).

189. sapientia: see § 17 and note on l. 20.

191. quod vindicta: on spondaic verses, see § 152.

194. habet attonitos: cf. ll. 2 f. and see § 120.

195. animo tortore: on the use of substantive as adjective, see § 47, *a*.

197. Caedicius: not to be identified with the *causidicus* of 16, 46. The name of Aeacus the torturer (1, 9 f.) was to be looked for in this connection; the plebeian *nomen* was doubtless chosen because of its etymological suggestiveness. **Rhadamanthus**: see note on 1, 10.

198. nocte dieque: see note on 3, 105.

199. Spartano: Glaucus, the son of Epicydes, who asked the Delphian oracle whether he might not keep a sum of money which had been placed in his keeping, was compelled to restore the deposit, and was punished for his dishonesty. This story, told by Herodotus, VI, 86, is an apt illus-

[1] For the awkward *minimus*, W. v. Christ, l.l. p. 161, proposes *manans*.

tration of the general subject, but is not directly connected with the immediate context. **vates**: see note on 1, 18.

200. haut: see note on 11, 17. **dubitaret**: 'was inclined.' This use is exceedingly rare and perhaps colloquial; cf. Cic. *Att.* XII, 49, 1 *cum dubitet Curtius consulatum petere;* Tac. *Ann.* IV, 57, 5 *dubitaverat Augustus Germanicum...rei Romanae imponere.*[1]

201. depositum: see note on l. 16. **iure...iurando**: i.e. *periurio.*

203. an: see § 98, *a.* **illi**: substitutes the narrator's point of view for that of the questioner. In the indirect question as in the final clause *sibi* would be usual; cf. Val. Max. VIII, 14, ext. 1 *cum interrogaretur, cuius vox auditu illi futura esset gratissima;* Sen. *Ep.* 48, 8 *rogant, ut ex tanta illos voluptatione extrahas.*[2] See G.-L. § 521, R. 5.

207. quamvis...gente: 'however distantly connected'; see § 114, *b.*

210. crimen habet: 'is guilty.' The doctrine that guilt lies in the intention was taught by pagan as well as by Christian teachers; cf. Sen. *Ben.* V, 14, 2 *latro est, etiam antequam manus inquinet, quia ad occidendum iam armatus est et habet spoliandi atque interficiendi voluntatem;* see § 18. **cedo**: 'tell me (what is the result)'; cf. 6, 504; see § 43.

211. perpetua: sc. *est;* see § 138, *a.* **nec**: see § 78.

213. crescente cibo: like *faucibus...siccis*, ablative absolute. This is the sensation of one who has no appetite; cf. Ovid, *Her.* 15, 122 *crescit et invito lentus in ore cibus;* Sen. *Ep.* 82, 21 *non in ore crevit cibus, non haesit in faucibus.* **sed**: see § 76. **misellus**: see § 41, II, *b.*

214. Albani...senectus: cf. 6 A, 15 (p. 41); see § 52 and note on 5, 33.

215. ostendas: see §§ 106, 108, *a.* **ruga**: see note 1, 120.

216. acri...Falerno: this wine (note on 4, 138) is the *melius* of l. 215. Horace calls it *forte* (*Sat.* II, 4, 24), *severum* (*C.* I, 27, 9), and *ardens* (*C.* II, 11, 19). **ducta**: cf. 9, 2 *fronte obducta;* Ovid, *Pont.* IV, 8, 13 f. *lectis vultum tu versibus istis ducis.*

218. iam: 'at last,' to be connected with *quiescunt.*

219. violati numinis aras: see § 124, *b* and note on l. 89.

220. mentem sudoribus urguet: see note on 1, 167.

221. maior imago humana: sc. *imagine;* cf. Tac. *Hist.* I, 86 *maiorem humana speciem;* Liv. V, 32, 6 *vocem...clariorem humana.*

222. cogitque fateri: Verg. *Aen.* VI, 567 (*Rhadamanthus*) *castigatque auditque dolos subigitque fateri.*

223. fulgura: see note on 3, 145.

[1] See Riemann and Goelzer, *Gram. Comp.*, p. 627, note 6.

[2] Instances occur in Sallust, Caesar, Livy, and Nepos; see Fighiera, *La lingua e la grammatica di Sallustio*, p. 125, and especially Heraeus in *Festschrift für Vahlen*, 1900, p. 431.

225. fortuitus: probably a trisyllable, though Stat. *Silv.* 1, 6, 16 has *gratŭītum* and Manilius, 1, 182 possibly *fortŭītos*.[1] **rabie sed**: on the cadence, see p. lxix.

226. iratus: see § 130. **iudicet**: 'find the guilty.'

227. illa: sc. *tempestas*. On the omission of *si*, see § 106.

228. sereno: cf. 7, 179 *serenum* and see § 54.

229. vigili cum febre: on the use of the adjective, see § 58.

231. credunt: the idea that disease is a punishment for evil deeds is presented in a highly concrete form in *Iliad*, 1; cf. also the book of Job.

233. cristam ... galli: i.e. *gallus cristatus;* see § 52 and compare Martial quoted in note on 7, 222.

236. ferme: 'as a rule'; cf. 8, 73. **malorum**: masculine.

237. admittunt: see note on l. 1. **superest**: see note on l. 109.

239. natura recurrit: Hor. *Epist.* 1, 10, 24 *naturam expelles furca, tamen usque recurret.*

240. damnatos: i.e. by themselves. **mutari nescia**: see § 117.

241. finem posuit: so 6, 359 and 8, 88, but cf. 6, 444 and see § 44.

242. attrita de fronte: the loss of shame and the consequent inability to blush was regarded as the result of rubbing the brow, which became hardened, as we say; cf. Petron. 132 *perfricata...fronte;* Mart. XI, 27, 7 *perfricuit frontem posuitque pudorem.* See notes on 8, 189 and 10, 300. **ruborem**: see note on 11, 54 *sanguinis.*

245. carceris unum: see note on 10, 66.

246. rupem: e.g. Gyarus or Seriphus: see notes on 1, 73 and 10, 170.

247. magnis: see note on 1, 33. **gaudebis**: the thought is not in harmony with ll. 181 ff.; see note on 3, 49.[2]

249. Teresian: i.e. *caecum;* see § 51.

SATIRE XIV

THE POWER OF PARENTAL EXAMPLE

The satirist begins with a discussion of the power of parental example, which magnifies in the child the vices of the parent (ll. 1–106). Taking avarice as an illustration, he goes on to treat of that subject (ll. 107–331), and from l. 256 has completely lost sight of the original theme. The satire is marred by clumsiness and weak repetition in some passages (e.g. ll. 68 ff.; 127 ff.; 227 ff.), though not entirely lacking in attractive

[1] See L. Müller, *De Re Metr.*[2], p. 302.

[2] Jessen, Philologus, l.l. pp. 517 f., would change *amara* to *aperta* and read *numinis* in l. 248 with *codex Bodl.*

features (e.g. ll. 161–172). The advice of a father to his son in ll. 191–209 has something of the modern ring.

1. Fuscine: the persons addressed in *Sat.* 11–16 are unknown.

2. nitidis ... rebus: 'an (otherwise) untarnished name.' **haesuram**: see § 118, *d*.

4. damnosa ... alea: Mart. XIV, 19, 1 *alea parva nuces et non damnosa videtur*; see note on 1, 88.

5. bullatus: equivalent to the usual *praetextatus*; see notes on 5, 164 and 1, 78. **arma**: see note on 1, 92.

7. tubera terrae: see note on 5, 116.

8. boletum: see note on 5, 147.

9. ficĕdulas: elsewhere *ficēdula*; hence Lachmann proposed *ficellas* (Lucr. p. 204). **nebulone parente**: see § 47, *b*.

10. cana ... gula: see § 130 and note on 1, 140.

11. dente renato: in Plaut. *Men.* 1116 the answer to the question How old were you ? is *Septuennis: nam tunc dentes mihi cadebant primulum.* This was the time when systematic instruction was usually begun ; cf. Quintil. 1, 1, 15.

12. barbatos ... magistros: the long beard was a badge of the philosopher ; cf. Pers. 4, 1 *barbatum ... magistrum*, i.e. Socrates.

14. magna ... culina: 'grand fare' ; cf. 5, 162 ; Hor. *Sat.* 1, 5, 38 *Murena praebente domum, Capitone culinam.*

16. praecipit: the subject is *Rutilus.* **nostra**: ablative.

17. materia ... elementis: Sen. *Ep.* 47, 10 *vis tu cogitare istum, quem servum tuum vocas, ex isdem seminibus ortum eodem frui caelo, aeque spirare, aeque vivere, aeque mori ?*

19. nullam ... conparat: 'enjoys no music so well as that of the lash' ; cf. 12, 121 f. and see notes on 10, 180, 184. The Sirens by their marvellous music lured passing ships to destruction ; cf. 9, 150 *Siculos cantus.*

20. Antiphates: the king of the Laestrygones, like Polyphemus, the giant Cyclops who devoured the companions of Odysseus, is a monster of cruelty in Homer. These two types are connected also in 15, 18 and Ovid, *Pont.* II, 2, 113 f.

21. tortore: 6, 480 ; 6A, 29 (p. 41) *an vocat ancillas tortoris pergula ?*

23. iuveni: i.e. *filio*; cf. ll. 107 and 121 and see § 53.

24. adficiunt: *gaudio* is suggested by *laetus.*[1] **inscripta**: i.e. *stigmata*; cf. Sen. *Ben.* IV, 37, 3 *avidissimo naufrago stigmata inscriberet.*[2]

[1] J. P. Postgate, Class. Rev., XIII, 1899, p. 208, proposes to read *adliciunt*.

[2] The emendation of H. Richards, *inscripti*, 'branded slaves,' is read by Weidner and Duff, but seems unnecessary (Class. Rev., II, 1888, p. 326).

ergastula: Apul. *Apol.* 47 *quindecim liberi homines populus est, totidem servi familia, totidem vincti ergastulum;* see note on 8, 180.

25. rusticus expectas: Hor. *Epist.* 1, 2, 42 *rusticus expectat dum defluat amnis;* on the construction, see G.-L. § 572, R. 2.

28. conscia: 3, 49; Ovid, *A. A.* III, 621 *conscia cum possit scriptas portare tabellas.*

29. ceras: see note on 1, 63. Tablets of small size, called *tabellae* in 6, 233, 277, were used for love letters.

30. ferre: on the infinitive to express purpose, see § 103.

35. praecordia: the seat of mental and moral qualities; cf. 1, 167. **Titan**: Prometheus, son of the Titan Iapetus, so called only here in Latin; cf. Dryden, XI, 29 'whom infused Titan formed of better clay' and see note on 4, 133.

36. reliquos: a trisyllable first in Persius. It is common as a quadrisyllable in the early period, with the first syllable short in comedy, long in epic poetry.[1] **vestigia**: the same metaphor in l. 53.

41. turpibus ac pravis: neuter ablative; cf. Plin. *N. H.* X, 120 *Latino sermone dociles*, but Hor. *Sat.* II, 2, 52 *pravi docilis.* **Catilinam**: 6, 656; Sen. *Ep.* 97, 10 *omne tempus Clodios, non omne Catones feret;* see notes on 8, 231 and 10, 288.

42. quocumque: see § 63 and cf. 3, 230. **axe**: see note on 8, 116.

43. avunculus: Cato of Utica, whose sister Servilia was the mother of M. Brutus, the murderer of Caesar. See § 41, 1, *e.*

45. procul, a procul: Verg. *Aen.* VI, 258 *procul o procul este, profani.* This is a formula for dismissing those who are not qualified to be present at the sacred rites; cf. Tibull. II, 1, 11 *vos quoque abesse procul iubeo, discedat ab aris.* **puellae**: cf. 6, 127.

47. maxima . . . reverentia: on apothegms, see § 37.

48. nec . . . contempseris: see § 77. **tu**: see § 60.

49. peccaturo: see §§ 118, *b* and 139; on hiatus, § 156.

50. censoris: the only emperors to assume this republican title were Claudius, Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian; see note on 4, 12.[2]

51. quandoque: see § 66 and note on 5, 172.

53. omnia: see § 81. **vestigia**: the same metaphor in l. 36.

55. tabulas mutare: cf. 12, 123 and see note on 1, 63.

56. unde: on the ellipsis, see § 138, *b.* **frontem**: Ter. *Ph.* 1042 (to a father under similar circumstances) *quo ore illum obiurgabis?* See note on 13, 242.

58. cucurbita: 'a gourd,' but here 'a cupping glass' (Gr. σικύα), which

[1] See Lindsay on Plaut. *Capt.* 16.

[2] See Cagnat, *Cours d'Épig.*[3], pp. 163 f.; Ruggiero, II, pp. 160 f.

was of similar shape. It was used in blood-letting, an ancient treatment for mental diseases ; cf. Petron. 90 *quotiescunque coeperis a te exire* (' to go out of your mind '), *sanguinem tibi a capite mittam. Ventosa* may refer to the rush of air into the vacuum when the instrument was removed ; in late Latin it stands alone in this sense and has survived in Fr. ' ventouse,' Ital. ' ventosa.'

59. hospite venturo : cf. l. 65 *venientis amici* and see § 118, *a*.

60. pavimentum : see note on 11, 175. For similar orders to slaves, cf. Plaut. *Asin.* 424 ff. ; id. *Stich.* 347 ff.

61. cum tota . . . tela : ' web and all ' : cf. 13, 61 *cum tota aerugine.*

62. leve . . . aspera : Verg. *Aen.* v, 267 *cymbiaque argento perfecta atque aspera signis ;* see notes on 1, 76 and 10, 19.

66. porticus : see note on 4, 6.

68. omni : in the sense of *ulla ;* see § 59, *a* and note on 8, 209.

71. patria :[1] the ablative with *idoneus*, after the analogy of *dignus*, though very rare, is safely attested in *Ad Herenn.* III, 3, 5 *res humiles . . . nec idoneas dignitate sua iudicare.* **utilis agris :** see § 83, *b*, (2.).

73. plurimum enim : the elision of dactylic words in *-m* is allowed by some poets only in the first or fifth foot, by others it is avoided altogether. Juvenal has one other example, 6, 151 *quantulum in*, Catullus three, Ovid two, Lucan one.[2]

76. sumptis . . . pinnis : 3, 80 *sumpsit pinnas* (of Daedalus).

77. crucibus : the corpses of malefactors often hung on the cross for days, as in the story of the devoted wife in Petron. 111 f.

79. magni : ' grown up ' ; cf. l. 169 *magnis fratribus.*

80. arbore nidos : so Ovid, *Am.* 1, 12, 20, though vultures really nest among rocks.

81. famulae Iovis : i.e. eagles ; cf. Hor. *C.* IV, 4, 1 *ministrum fulminis alitem.*

82. hinc : i.e. *ex his* sc. *leporibus*, etc. **cubili :** ' nestlings ' ; see § 129, *d*.[3]

83. ponitur : i.e. *apponitur ;* see note on 1, 141. **cum :** see § 125, *d*.[4]

84. famē : so 6, 424 ; 15, 102, and regularly till the sixth century.[5]

86. aedificator : on extravagance in building, see note on 1, 94.

87. Caietae : a seaport of Latium, one of the choicest places of resi-

[1] The reading of *P*, adopted also by Buecheler, Duff, and Owen ; inferior Mss. have *patriae.* [2] L. Müller, *De Re Metr.*[2], p. 347.

[3] Others take *cubili* as ablative without *in* (§ 91).

[4] For *levarit*, adopted also by Buecheler and Friedl. from some inferior Mss., Owen now reads *levavit* with a Trinity College *codex* (*T*) supported by Priscian ; other readings are *levaret* (*P*) and *levabit* ($p\omega$).

[5] L. Müller, l.l. p. 480.

dence in Italy. Cicero had a villa there ; cf. *Att.* I, 3, 2 ; ib. 4, 3.[1] **Tiburis . . . Praenestinis** : see notes on 3, 190 and 192.

90. marmoribus : rare and costly marbles from Greece, Asia, and Africa were lavishly used in the construction of private villas, baths, and porticos.[2] On Phrygian, Numidian, and Laconian marbles, see notes on l. 307 ; 7, 182 ; 11, 175. **Fortunae atque Herculis** : the temple of Fortuna at Praeneste and that of Hercules at Tibur.[3]

91. Posides : a wealthy freedman of Claudius ; cf. Suet. 28; see § 24.

92. dum . . . habitat : cf. l. 95 and see § 100.

94. turbavit : colloquial for *conturbavit ;* cf. 7, 129 ; Cael. in Cic. *Fam.* VIII, 8, 2 *omnibus in rebus turbarat ;* see § 44.

96. metuentem : with a technical sense like *θεοσεβής* or *σεβόμενος* (*τὸν θεόν*), referring to the half-proselytes, those who were favorable to Judaism, but had not by circumcision, baptism, and sacrifice entered fully into the communion ; cf. l. 101 ; C. I. L. VI, 29763 (*de*)*um metuens hic sita* (*est*).[4] In this strange illustration of the theme, Juvenal from a distinctly Roman point of view refers to the most striking practices of the Jews. **sabbata** : the observance of the day in Rome as early as the reign of Augustus is shown by Hor. *Sat.* I, 9, 69 ; Ovid, *A. A.* I, 415 f. ; id. *Rem. Am.* 219 f. ; Tibull. I, 3, 18.

97. nubes : Luc. II, 592 f. *dedita sacris incerti Iudaea dei.* To the Roman, who embodied his deity in concrete form, the spiritual worship of the Jew was mysterious and unintelligible ; see § 18. **caeli numen** : the avoidance of the divine name in the later Hebrew literature led to such substitutes as this, which the Roman often misunderstood to indicate worship of the sky ; cf. 6, 545.

98. humana . . . suillam : he would eat the one as readily as the other ; cf. 6, 160.

99. praeputia ponunt : 'are circumcised' ; the sense is *deponunt* (§ 44).

100. contemnere : Tac. *Hist.* V, 5 (of Jews) *spretis religionibus patriis . . . contemnere deos, exuere patriam, parentes liberos fratres vilia habere.*

102. volumine : the roll of the law, to which the rest of the Old Testament from the Jewish point of view is supplement and exposition.

103. non monstrare : Jewish exclusiveness naturally produced such impressions ; cf. Tac. *Hist.* V, 5 *adversus omnes alios hostile odium. separati epulis, discreti cubilibus.*

[1] See C.I.L. X, p. 603 ; Notizie degli Scavi, 1893, p. 361.

[2] The descriptions in Statius are instructive ; see Vollmer's *Silvae*, pp. 251, 590.

[3] See Vollmer on Stat. *Silv.* I, 3, 79.

[4] For discussion of the questions involved, see Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*, III,[3] pp. 129 ff. ; Vogelstein u. Rieger, *Geschichte der Juden in Rom*, I, p. 73.

105. septima quaeque: Rutil. Namat. I, 391 *septima quaeque dies turpi damnata veterno;* the whole passage is interesting in this connection.

106. ignava: the pagan completely misunderstood the Jewish motive; cf. Tac. *Hist.* V, 4 *septimo die otium placuisse ferunt...dein blandiente inertia septimum quoque annum ignaviae datum.* **attigit:** the subject is *lux.*[1]

107. sponte: the omission of *sua* is a mark of poetry and later prose.

109. specie virtutis et umbra: on the order of words, see § 124, *b.*

111. frugi: Hor. *Sat.* I, 3, 49 *parcius hic vivit: frugi dicatur.*

112. parcus: Quintil. III, 7, 25 *pro avaro parcum vocemus.*

113. certa magis: see 57, *a.* **fortunas:** 'riches.'[2]

114. Hesperidum ... Ponticus: see notes on 5, 151 f.; I, 7 *lucus Martis;* cf. Maximian. I, 189 f. *plurimus hortis pervigil observat non sua poma draco.* **adde quod:** 'moreover'; cf. 15, 47 and see § 140, *a.*[3]

115. adquirendi: on the effect of the spondaic cadence, see § 152.

116. artificem: in 4, 18 of a legacy-hunter; cf. *fabris* and metaphorical details in l. 118. **patrimonia:** see note on I, 138.

117. sed: not adversative; see § 76. **quocumque:** see § 63.

118. incude adsidua: a proverbial expression; cf. Ammian. XVIII, 4, 2 *eandem incudem, ut dicitur, diu noctuque tundendo.*[4] For the literal basis of the metaphor, cf. Cypr. Gall. *Genes.* 189 f. *ferrumque incude subactum diversis formare modis stridente camino.*

119. animi felices: Verg. *Aen.* IV, 529 *infelix animi;* see § 87.

121. pauperis: see § 54. **iuvenes:** see note on l. 23.

122. incumbere: 8, 76 *miserum est aliorum incumbere famae.*[5]

123. elementa: for the concrete signification, see note on II, 14.

124. inbuit: 'initiates'; cf. Verg. *Aen.* VII, 541 f. *sanguine bellum imbuit,* 'shed the first blood'; Ovid, *Trist.* III, 11, 52.[6]

126. servorum ventres: see note on 3, 141. The *minimae sordes* (l. 124) are exemplified in ll. 124–133; observe how l. 125 breaks the connection. **iniquo:** technical for short measure; see note on 10, 101.

127. neque enim: see §§ 73, 155. **sustinet:** see § 116, *e.*

128. mucida ... frusta: cf. 5, 68. **caerulei:** see note on 5, 75.

130. septembri: see notes on 4, 57, 59. **nec non:** see note on 3, 204.

131. conchem ... lacerti: mentioned together as cheap food by Mart. VII, 78, 1 f.; cf. 3, 293. **aestivam:** see § 55 and note on I, 28.

[1] Friedl., following Madvig, understands *qui* from *cui;* cf 15, 170 f. (note).
[2] Buecheler reads *fortuna* (*P*) and supplies *res* with *easdem.*
[3] See Schmalz, l.l. p. 376; Lease, Am. Jour. Phil., XXI, 1900, p. 453.
[4] Otto, Sprichwörter, s.v. *incus.*
[5] For *pergant* (ω Priscian) Buecheler reads *peragant* (*P*); cf. Pers. 5, 150.
[6] See Langen on Val. Fl. I, 69.

132. signatam: usually *obsignatam* (§ 44), 'under lock and key,' to use a modern term; cf. Plin. *N. H.* XXXIII, 26 *nunc cibi quoque ac potus anulo vindicantur a rapina.* **siluro**: see note on 4, 33.

133. sectivi . . . porri: see note on 3, 293.

134. aliquis de ponte: i.e. a beggar; see note on 4, 116.

135. quo divitias: see § 138, *b* and note on 8, 9.

136. furor: see note on 1, 92. **haut**: see note on 11, 17. **phrenesis**: *insania* (gloss *p*); cf. Cels. III, 18 *phrenesis vero tum demum est, cum continua* (chronic) *dementia esse incipit.*

137. moriaris: on the caesura, see § 147, *c.* **egentis . . . fato**: 'like a beggar.'

139. amor nummi: Maximian. 3, 73 *auri caecus amor* (Webster's note).[1] On Juvenal's use of apothegms, see § 37.

140. paratur: see note on 3, 224.

141. altera villa: on extravagance in building, see note on 1, 94.[2]

142. libet . . . videtur: sc. *cum*, making clauses to modify *mercaris.*

143. vicina: 'of your neighbor'; cf. Ovid, *A. A.* I, 350 *vicinumque pecus grandius uber habet.*

144. arbusta: the grove of trees on which the vines were trained (note on 8, 78) in contrast to *vinea*, the vineyard in which they lay on the ground or were supported on poles. **canet**: often of gray hair, ashes, frost, etc., but here indicating the gray-green of the olive leaves.

146. boves . . . mittentur: a similar injustice in 16, 36 ff. Cf. Sen. *Ep.* 90, 39 *licet agros agris adiciat vicinum vel pretio pellens vel iniuria* (cf. l. 151). Such methods were ancient and frequently practised.

148. inde: see § 138, *b.* **saevos**: 5, 94 *gula saevit.*

150. plorent: for *deplorent;* see note on 13, 134.

152. sermones: cf. 10, 88 f. *hi sermones tunc de Seiano;* see § 138, *a.*[3]

153. inquit: see note on 3, 153. **tunicam . . . lupini**: a type of worthlessness; cf. Pers. 4, 30 f. *tunicatum . . . caepe;* Stat. *Silv.* IV, 9, 30 *bulborum tunicae* and our 'potatoes with their jackets on.'

156. scilicet: this marks the sentence as ironical.

160. sub Tatio: T. Tatius was king of the Sabines when they united with the earliest Romans; cf. Ovid, *Fast.* VI, 93 f. *narravit Tatium fortemque Quirinum binaque cum populis regna coisse suis.* The metre forbids *Romulo*, which might otherwise have been used; see note on 10, 73.

162. Pyrrhum . . . Molossos: see note on 12, 108.

[1] See A. Sonny, A.L.L. IX, p. 55; M. C. Sutphen, Am. Jour. Phil., XXII, 1901, p. 16.
[2] Owen, Class. Rev., IX, 1895, p. 348 and ed. 1902, punctuates *tibi; cum.*
[3] Lewis, Friedl. and Owen retain *foedè* (*P*).

163. iugera bina: the veterans of many a fight received scarcely as much as the earliest Romans were supposed to have received ; cf. Varro, *R. R.* I, 10, 2 *bina iugera quod a Romulo primum divisa dicebantur viritim.*

165. meritis minor: on the construction, see § 57, *e.*

167. turbam: of the whole household though not necessarily of a large number ; cf. Stat. *Silv.* IV, 8, 43 f. (of two sons) *hilaris circumstat turba tuorum defensatque patrem.*

168. uxor et infantes: these words seem not to be combined elsewhere in Classical Latin, *uxor et liberi* or *nati* being preferred ; cf. 10, 201.[1]

169. domini: i.e. *ingenui.* **magnis fratribus:** see note on l. 79.

171. pultibus ollae: Mart. XIII, 8, 1 *imbue plebeias Clusinis pultibus ollas. Puls* (II, 58) was a kind of porridge made of spelt (*far:* hence II, 108 *farrata*), which in the early days was a staple article of Roman diet ; cf. Plin. *N. H.* XVIII, 83 (*far*) *primus antiquis Latii cibus...pulte autem, non pane, vixisse longo tempore Romanos manifestum.*

173. inde: see § 138, *b.* **nec ... aut:** see § 80.

174. ferro grassatur: cf. 3, 305 ; on the change of tense, see § 136, *b.*

175. vitium: a similar personification in l. 109.

178. quis metus: see § 62, *a.* **properantis avari:** see § 54.

179. casulis: see § 41, I, *a.* **collibus istis:** see § 61, *b.*

180. Marsus: see note on 3, 169. The Marsi, Hernici, and Vestini, hardy tribes of Central Italy, were early subjugated by the Romans.

182. numina ruris: Verg. *Geo.* I, 7 f. *Liber et alma Ceres, vestro si munere tellus...glandem mutavit arista ;* Ovid, *Fast.* I, 673 f.

184. veteris: see note on 1, 132. **fastidia quercus:** Lucr. V, 1416 *sic odium coepit glandis ;* see note on 13, 57.

185. fecisse: see note on 4, 12.

186. perone: a heavy boot worn by farmers and others ; cf. Pers. 5, 102 *peronatus arator* and see note on 3, 322 *caligatus.* **summovet:** of keeping out cold in Sen. *Dial.* XII, 10, 2 *frigus summoveri vult ;* Luc. II, 385 *summovisse hiemem tecto.*

187. inversis: with fur inward for greater warmth. **peregrina:** see note on 7, 134. With the thought cf. Lucr. V, 1423 *tunc igitur pelles, nunc aurum et purpura curis exercent hominum vitam.*

189. veteres: *antiqui* is more usual in this sense (note on 1, 132), but cf. Cic. *Phil.* V, 47 *maiores nostri veteres illi admodum antiqui* and Tibull. quoted in note on 5, 35. **minoribus:** see note on 1, 148.

190. media de nocte: cf. Plaut. *Rud.* 898 *de nocte qui abiit* and see note on 7, 222. **supinum:** Hor. *Sat.* I, 5, 19 *stertitque supinus.*

[1] See A. Franck, A.L.L. VII, pp. 79, 99.

191. ceras: see note on 1, 63.

192. causas age: cf. 7, 112 ff. **rubras**: in ancient laws, as in many mediaeval Mss., the headings or initials were in red; hence our word 'rubric.'

193. vitem: the vine rod stands for the post of a centurion; cf. Spart. *Hadr.* 10, 6 *nulli vitem nisi robusto et bonae famae daret* and see note on 8, 247.[1] **libello**: 'petition'; see note on 7, 107.[2]

194. buxo: 'comb'; see § 129, *c*. As centurions were proverbially rough and cruel, the absence of any sign of effeminacy is the best recommendation for the candidate; cf. Pers. 3, 77 *aliquis de gente hircosa centurionum*.[3]

195. Laelius: probably an officer of higher rank, though the schol. says *centurio sub quo militabis*. **alas**: see note on 10, 178.

196. attegias: 'huts,' a word found elsewhere only in an inscription of Alsace.[4] *Mapalia* is used for the huts of the Numidians in Sall. *Iug.* 18, 8 and for those of the Mauri in Sil. XVII, 90. **Brigantum**: the most powerful tribe of Central Britain, whose chief town was Eburacum (York). Some of them seem to have fought in the Roman army.[5] See § 14 and on the caesura, § 147, *b*.

197. locupletem aquilam: cf. 13, 96 and see § 130; the standard was placed in front of the legion in charge of the chief centurion (*primipilus*). The common soldier rarely rose higher than the *primipilatus* which conferred substantial emolument and sometimes equestrian rank.

199. trepidum: see § 130. **solvunt ... ventrem**: Plin. *N. H.* XX. 74 *ventrem solvit;* Cels. II, 8 *venter resolutus est.*

200. pares: see note on 3, 224.

202. ablegandae: very rarely used of an inanimate object. **Tiberim ultra**: see § 126.[6] Any business which was likely to be a nuisance in the city (e.g. tanning) was restricted to the region across the Tiber; cf. Mart. VI, 93, 1 ff. *tam male Thais olet quam ... non detracta cani transtiberina cutis.*

203. neu credas: on prohibitions in Juvenal, see § 77.

204. lucri ... odor: when Titus remonstrated with his father Vespasian for receiving *urinae vectigal, pecuniam ex prima pensione admovit ad*

[1] For the military questions involved, see Ruggiero, II, p. 197 and Pauly-Wiss., III, 1964 with references there given; J. Dürr, in *Festschrift zu O. Hirschfelds sechzigstem Geburtstage*, 1903, p. 447.

[2] On the use of *libellus*, see H. Landwehr, A.L.L. VI, p. 248.

[3] See A. Sonny, A.L.L. VIII, p. 486.

[4] Orelli, 1396 = *Inscr. Rhen.* 1842 = Dessau, 3204 (to appear in C.I.L. XIII) *attegiam tegulicium compositam.*

[5] C.I.L. VII, 1091.

[6] A.L.L. IV, pp. 257, 364

nares, sciscitans num odore offenderetur; et illo negante, 'atqui' inquit 'e lotio est' (Suet. *Vesp.* 23). See note on 3, 38.

205. sententia: see note on 8, 125.

207. unde habeas: Sen. *Ep.* 115, 14 *non quare et unde, quid habeas, tantum rogant.* The origin of this verse is unknown, though one naturally thinks of Lucilius; see note on 3, 143. **nemō**: the verse is not Juvenal's; see § 157.

208. assae: *assa nutrix dicitur quae lac non praestat infantibus, sed solum diligentiam et munditiam adhibet* (schol.); cf. C.I.L. VI, 29497 *Volumnia C. f. Procla nutrici assae et lib(ertae);* Front. p. 103 N.

210. quemcumque: on this indefinite use, see § 63.

214. Pelea ... Achilles: Ovid, *Met.* XV, 856 *sic Pelea vicit Achilles;* see note on 8, 269.

215. parcendum ... teneris: Verg. *Geo.* II, 363 *parcendum teneris* (young vines).

216. barbam: see notes on 3, 186 and 4, 103.[1]

217. longi ... cultri: often of the razor (*novacula*), but here of the shears (*forfices*); cf. Plin. *N. H.* VII, 211 *primus omnium radi cotidie instituit Africanus sequens* (younger ?), *divus Augustus cultris semper usus est.*[2]

219. et Cereris: 'even of Ceres'; see notes on 3, 144 and 13, 89. An oath by Ceres was especially binding, because she was identified with Demeter, who was worshipped in the mysteries of Eleusis; cf. Apul. *Met.* IX, 23 *iuro per istam ego sanctam Cererem.*

220. elatam: see note on 1, 72.

221. premetur: Ovid, *Met.* IX, 78 *angebar, ceu guttura forcipe pressus.*

225. dices olim: on this use of *olim*, see § 67, *d*.

228. laevo: 'perverse,' as in Val. Fl. VI, 69; Stat. *Th.* I, 634; *sinistro* would be more common in this sense.

229. patrimonia: see note on 1, 138. **conduplicari**: dependent on a verb to be inferred from *praecepit* and *producit.*[3]

230. totas effundit habenas: Verg. *Aen.* V, 818 *omnis effundit habenas.* Roman fondness for the circus accounts for the frequency of such metaphors; see § 127.

231. quem: the antecedent is probably the driver, though a diminutive of *currus* in the masculine form is attested by Paulus (p. 34 Th.) and others.

232. rapitur: *corripitur* is more usual in such a connection (§ 44), but

[1] Buecheler and Owen, following *P*, read *medullas; naturae mala nequitia est.*

[2] Buecheler, Friedl., and Owen read *longae;* the Mss. have *longe* (*P*) and *longi* (*pω*).

[3] Owen now reads *conduplicavit*, his own conjecture; see Class. Rev., IX, 1895, p. 349.

cf. Sen. *Dial.* III, 7, 4 (the initial stages of anger are within our control), *ulteriora nos vi sua rapiunt nec regressum relinquunt.*

234. permittas: Sen. *Dial.* III, 8, 1 (*ira*) *faciet de cetero quantum volet, non quantum permiseris.*

235. iuveni: see § 53. **stultum**: sc. *eum esse.*

237. circumscribere: see note on 10, 222. **omni**: see note on 8, 209.

238. crimine divitias: cf. 1, 75 *criminibus debent hortos*, etc.

239. quantus: on ellipsis, see § 138, *c.* **Deciorum**: see note on 8, 254.

240. Graecia vera: see note on 10, 174. In the war of the Seven against Thebes Menoeceus in consequence of a prophecy of Teresias sacrificed himself to save his city ; cf. Stat. *Th.* X, 632 ff.

241. quorum: i.e. *Thebanorum* implied in *Thebas.* The legend of the armed men who sprang from the dragon's teeth sown by Cadmus is told by Ovid, *Met.* III, 104 ff. The use of the present tense adds a satirical touch.

242. nascuntur: on this type of caesura, see § 147, *c.*

246. nec: see § 78. **magistrum**: for the literal background of the metaphor, cf. Aesch. *Agam.* 717 ff.; Mart. *Epig. Lib.* 10,1 *laeserat ingrato leo perfidus ore magistrum.* The frequency of such metaphors in Latin is due to Roman fondness for the sports of the amphitheatre ; see § 127.

248. mathematicis: see notes on 3, 43 and 10, 94. Roman belief in astrology is shown by 6, 553 ff. **genesis**: 'horoscope' ; cf. 6, 579 ; schol. on 9, 35 *nihil tamen accipies, nisi stellas in genesi bene positas habueris quae tibi hoc praestent.* See § 17 and note on 7, 195.[1] **tardas**: 6, 565 *lento...funere ;* Ovid, *Met.* I, 148 *filius ante diem patrios inquirit in annos.*

249. stamine: see notes on 3, 27 and 12, 65.

250. vota moraris: Ovid, *Her.* 17, 5 *cur mea vota morantur ;* ib. 18, 95 *ventos timeo mea vota morantes.*[2]

251. iuvenem: see § 53. **cervina**: the mistaken belief that the stag lived to a great age—nine hundred years (schol.)—was generally accepted in antiquity, though rejected by Aristotle, *Hist. An.* VI, 29, 4 ; cf. Cic. *Tusc.* III, 69 ; Verg. *Ecl.* 7, 30 ; Ovid, *Met.* III, 194 ; Plin. *N. H.* VII, 153. On the age of the crow, see note on 10, 247.

252. Archigenem: see note on 13, 98. **Mithridates**: the king of Pontus, who was beaten successively by Sulla, Lucullus, and Pompeius ; cf. 6, 661 *ter victi...regis.* His famous antidote, consisting of fifty-four ingredients (Plin. *N. H.* XXIX, 24), is recommended by Celsus, V, 23, 3

[1] See A. G. Harkness, Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc., XXX, 1899, p. 84.
[2] See Palmer's note on Ovid, *Her.* 7, 21.

(*antidotum*) *nobilissimum est Mithridatis, quod cotidie sumendo rex ille dicitur adversus venenorum pericula tutum corpus suum reddidisse.*

254. medicamen: used in 6, 661 of the compound of Mithridates.

256. egregiam: on the caesura, see § 147, *b*. **theatra**: cf. 5, 157 **f.**

257. praetoris: see note on 8, 185.

258. quanto ... constent: 6, 365 *quanti ... constent;* see § 94.

259. aerata ... arca: cf. 11, 26 and see note on 1, 90.

260. Castora: the temple of Castor and Pollux in the *forum Romanum*, in which money and other valuables were deposited; see notes on 8, 143; 10, 25. *Vigilem* indicates that a guard was set; see § 130.

261. ex quo: sc. *tempore*. The beautiful temple of Mars Ultor was dedicated in 2 B.C. by Augustus in his new *forum* (note on 1, 128). Sacrilegious hands must have carried off treasure there deposited and even parts of the god's very image; see note on 13, 152.

262. Florae: the *ludi Florales* celebrated April 28–May 3, the *ludi Ceriales* April 12–19, and the *ludi Megalenses* April 4–10 (note on 11, 193) were marked by dramatic performances.

263. aulaea: of theatrical performance also in 6, 67.

265. petauro: something like a spring board for acrobats; cf. Manil. v, 439 *corpora quae valido saliunt excussa petauro.*

266. qui ... funem: = 3, 77 *schoenobates* (see note); cf. l. 272.

267. Corycia: the town of Corycus on the coast of Cilicia was famous for its export of saffron (*crocus* = l. 269 *sacci olentis*).

268. tollendus: on the use of the gerundive, see § 119.

269. perditus: see note on 3, 73. **vilis**: Tac. *Ann.* I, 40, 2 *vilis ipsi salus.*

270. antiquae ... Cretae: the birthplace of Jupiter; see note on 13, 41. The extreme antiquity of civilization in Crete is now, owing to the recent excavations of Mr. A. J. Evans at the palace of Cnossus, more clearly shown than ever before.[1]

271. municipes: see note on 4, 33. **advexisse**: see § 116, *d*.

273. brumamque famemque: 6, 360 *frigusque famemque.*

274. illa reste: the same as the *rectum ... funem* of l. 266.

275. centum villas: see note on 1, 94. **aspice**: see § 140, *a*.

276. plenum: see § 124. With the thought cf. Petron. 119, 1 f. (the Roman by this time was master of the whole world) *nec satiatus erat. gravidis freta pulsa carinis iam peragebantur.* **trabibus**: cf. l. 296.

277. veniet classis, etc.: Petron. 119, 5 f. *si qua foret tellus, quae fulvum mitteret aurum, ... quaerebantur opes.*

[1] For brief reports, see Am. Jour. Arch., VI, 1902, pp. 212, 357 ff.; ib. VII, 1903, pp. 113, 117 f.

278. Carpathium: so called from the island of Carpathus which lay between Rhodes and Crete. **Gaetula**: merchantmen frequented the N. coast of Africa for the sake of the purple-fish; cf. Plin. *N. H.* v, 12 *exquirantur omnes scopuli Gaetuli muricibus purpuris.*

279. Calpĕ: one of the pillars of Hercules, now Gibraltar. The short *-ĕ* in the ablative, which occurs only here, points to a nominative *Calpis*, instead of the usual *Calpe.*[1]

280. stridentem ... solem: *Gaditano Oceano sol mergens stridet, ut si ferrum candens in aqua tinguas* (schol.). This Spanish story seems to have been credited by Epicurus; its recurrence in Roman literature may be in some measure due to that fact.[2]

281. grande ... pretium: cf. 12, 127. **folle**: see note on 13, 61.

282. aluta: see note on 7, 192.

283. Oceani monstra: see note on 10, 14.

284. non unus ... furor: see notes on 1, 92 and 3, 151. **ille**: Orestes, the typical crazy man, who in the paroxysms of his madness was held in the arms of Electra; cf. Pers. 3, 118; Eurip. *Elect.* 260 ff. and see notes on 8, 215 ff. This was doubtless the subject of many ancient paintings.[3]

285. Eumenidum: on the order, see § 124, *b*. **igni**: the torches.

286. hic: Ajax; see notes on 7, 115; 10, 84.

287. Ithacum: see note on 10, 257. **lacernis**: see note on 1, 27.

288. curatoris eget: Hor. *Epist.* I, 1, 102 f. *curatoris egere a praetore dati* (of a madman); on the construction, see § 90.

289. tabula distinguitur unda: see note on 12, 58.

291. titulos: see notes on 1, 129 and 5, 34. **faciesque minutas**: 6, 205 *scripto radiat Germanicus* (i.e. Trajan) *auro.*

293. piperis: the best was imported from India; cf. Plin. *N. H.* XII, 29 f.; Pers. 5, 55 *rugosum piper.*

295. aestivum: see § 81. **forsitan ... cadet**: see § 71, *b*.

296. cadet: i.e. *excidet* (§ 44); cf. 3, 270 f. *fenestris vasa cadant* but Verg. *Aen.* VI, 339 *exciderat puppi.* **fractis trabibus**: see note on l. 302.

297. zonam: Hor. *Epist.* II, 2, 40 *zonam perdidit;* see note on 8, 120.

299. Tagus ... Pactolus: see note on 3, 55.

300. sufficient: sc. *ei* as antecedent of *cuius.* **velantis**: see § 40.

302. picta ... tempestate: Pers. 1, 89 f. *fracta te in trabe pictum ex umero portes;* see note on 12, 27. **se ... tuetur**: 'gets his living.'

[1] See Neue, *Formenlehre*, I,[3] p. 96; L. Müller, *De Re Metr.*[2], p. 419.

[2] Cf. Val. Fl. II, 37 (Langen's note); ib. 63; Stat. *Silv.* II, 7, 27 (Vollmer's note); Sil. I, 210; Auson. *Epist.* XXIII, 2 (p. 266 P.); Drac. X, 91; *Orest. Trag.* 804; see Usener, *Epicurea*, p. 354 (note).

[3] See Roscher, *Lex. d. griech. u. röm. Mythol.* III, 979 ff.

303. cura maiore: Sen. *Ep.* 115, 16 *maiore tormento pecunia possidetur quam quaeritur.*

304. misera...census: Sen. *Dial.* XI, 9, 5 *magnae felicitatis tutela sollicita est.* On the force of *misera*, see § 58.

305. cohortem: a private fire-brigade consisting of the rich man's slaves, but the language reminds one of the seven public *cohortes vigilum* organized by Augustus in 6 A.D.; cf. Suet. *Aug.* 25 and see note on 3, 7.

306. Licinus: see note on 1, 109. **attonitus pro**: cf. 6, 17 f. and see § 97, *f*; on the cadence, see p. lxix.

307. electro: see note on 5, 38. **Phrygia columna**: the marble with purple spots which was brought from Synnada (pavonazzetto); cf. Stat. *Silv.* II, 2, 88 f. *marmore picto candida purpureo distinguitur area gyro* and see note on l. 90.

308. testudine: see note on 11, 94. **dolia**: see § 48.

309. cynici: Sen. *Ben.* V, 4, 3 (Diogenes) *per medias Macedonum gazas nudus incessit*; id. *Ep.* 90, 14 *Diogenes...se conplicuit in dolio et in eo cubitavit*; see note on 13, 122.

310. plumbo commissa: i.e. *plumbata*; lead (solder) was used to mend broken statuary, earthenware, etc.

313. posceret orbem: see note on 10, 168. The famous meeting of Alexander and Diogenes is described by Plut. *Alex.* 14 and Val. Max. IV, 3, ext. 4. When Alexander asked what favor he desired, Diogenes '*mox*' *inquit* '*de ceteris, interim velim a sole mihi non obstes*' ('please do not stand between me and the sun').

314. aequanda: on this use of the gerundive, see § 119.

315. nullum...deam: repeated from 10, 365 f.; see note on 1, 25.

318. in quantum: used in poetry (Vergil) and in prose from the time of Livy in the sense of *quantum*; cf. Ovid, *Met.* XI, 71.[1]

319. hortis: on Epicurus and his little garden, see note on 13, 123.

320. ceperunt: see note on 10, 148. Socrates is a type of frugality.

321. sapientia: see note on 13, 20.

323. aliquid...de moribus: on the construction, see § 97, *d*.

324. ordinibus: see note on 3, 154. **Othonis**: see note on 3, 159.

325. rugam trahit: = *frontem contrahit* (Cic. *Clu.* 72); see § 44 and note on 11, 203. The expression is unusual; cf. Ovid, *Am.* II, 2, 33 *traxit vultum rugasque coegit*; id. *Pont.* IV, 1, 5 *trahis vultus*; Sen. *Ben.* VI, 7, 1 *conligit rugas et trahit frontem. Ruga* may have been suggested by Pers. 6, 78 f. *rem duplica. 'feci; iam triplex, iam mihi quarto, iam decies redit in rugam; depunge ubi sistam,'* though *ruga* here is the place where money was kept (*sinus*).

[1] See Mayor's note for examples.

327. gremium . . . panditur: see note on 1, 88.

328. Croesi . . . Persica: the Lydian and Persian kings were common types of great riches; cf. Stat. *Silv.* 1, 3, 105 *digne Midae Croesique bonis et Perside gaza;* Claud. *Ruf.* 1, 198 f. *iungatur solium Croesi Cyrique tiara . . . numquam satiabere quaestu;* Hor. *C.* III, 9, 4 *Persarum vigui rege beatior.*[1] **fortuna:** the singular with this sense also 16, 34.

329. Narcissi: the enormously wealthy and influential freedman of the emperor Claudius. He had amassed more than 400,000,000 sesterces and held the important post of secretary (*ab epistulis*) to the emperor.[2]

331. uxorem occidere: on the death of Messalina and its cause, see note on 10, 330. According to Tac. *Ann.* XI, 37, her death was ordered by Narcissus, while Claudius still had the matter under consideration. On the power of the imperial freedmen, cf. Plin. *Pan.* 88, 1 *plerique principes, cum essent civium domini, libertorum erant servi;* Aurel. Victor, *Epit.* 4, 8 *hos omnes anteibat Narcissus ab epistulis, dominum se gerens ipsius domini.*

SATIRE XV

INHUMANITY OF THE EGYPTIANS

This satire is little more than an invective aimed at the despised Egyptians, for whom Juvenal has already expressed his utter contempt (§ 19). An instance of cannibalism, arising out of a religious feud, is reported as a recent occurrence and described in minute detail, though, for reasons suggested in the note on l. 33, it seems possible that the whole story is a mere invention. Nor is it necessary to conclude from l. 45 that the author had ever been in Egypt: he had certainly never visited the region in which this scene is laid (§ 15). Like others of the later satires the fifteenth is marred by absurd exaggeration and tedious repetition; the strongest passage is that which treats of sympathy as the noblest attribute of man (ll. 131 ff.).

For the date of composition, see § 10 and note on l. 27.

1. Volusi: the persons addressed in *Sat.* 11–16 are unknown. The opening verses reflect the thought and to some extent the language of Cic. *Tusc.* V, 78 *Aegyptiorum morem quis ignorat?* etc.

2. portenta: Verg. *Aen.* VIII, 698 (of Egyptian deities) *omnigenumque*

[1] See Sutphen, Am. Jour. Phil., XXII, 1901, p. 27.

[2] Cf. Dio, LX, 34, 4; Suet. *Claud.* 28; Bull. Com. Arch., 1886, p. 104; Ib. 1887, p. 10.

deum monstra et latrator Anubis. **crocodilon:** Herod. II, 69, 1 τοῖσι μὲν δὴ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἱροί εἰσι οἱ κροκόδειλοι, τοῖσι δ' οὔ, ἀλλ' ἅτε πολεμίους περιέπουσι.

3. ibin: held sacred because of its alleged usefulness in destroying the winged serpents from Arabia. According to Herod. II, 75, this was accepted as the true reason by the Egyptians themselves.[1]

4. cercopitheci: Mart. XIV, 202, 2 *si mihi* (i.e. *simio*, 'an ape') *cauda foret, cercopithecus eram.*

5. dimidio: see note on 8, 4. The upper part of the so-called statue of Memnon having been overthrown by an earthquake, the air passing through the crevices of the stones under the impulse of the sudden change of temperature at sunrise produced musical sounds, which in the ancient world gave rise to superstitious wonder. This colossal statue, repaired probably by Septimius Severus in 202 A.D., is still in existence and bears inscriptions of the period from 65 to 196 A.D.[2]

6. vetus Thebe: Thebes in Egypt, celebrated in very early times for its great wealth and its hundred gates (*Iliad*, IX, 381 ff.), was to Juvenal remarkable for its antiquity; cf. Tac. *Ann.* II, 60 *veterum Thebarum magna vestigia.* On Thebes in Boeotia, see note on 13, 27.

7. aeluros: Cic. *Leg.* I, 32 *canem et felem ut deos colunt.*[3]

8. Dianam: *magistram canum* (gloss *p*).

9. porrum et caepe: Hor. *Epist.* I, 12, 21 *seu piscis seu porrum et caepe trucidas;* Plin. *N. H.* XIX, 101 *alium caepasque inter deos in iure iurando habet Aegyptus.* **violare:** see note on 3, 20.

11. lanatis: see note on 8, 155.

13. attonito: the effect of Odysseus' stories of the cannibals upon his Phaeacian audience is grossly exaggerated; cf. *Odyss.* IX, 106 ff.; ib. X, 81 ff.

14. super cenam: a common expression in the Silver period, e.g. Suet. *Ner.* 22 *cantaret super cenam;* Flor. II, 13, 69 *superque mensas et pocula interficiendum;* but cf. 8, 217 *caesi media inter pocula.*

15. bilem aut risum: Hor. *Epist.* I, 19, 19 f. *mihi saepe bilem, saepe iocum vestri movere tumultus.*

16. moverat: 10, 202 *moveat fastidia;* see § 72, *d.* **aretalogus:** 'teller of wonderful tales.'[4] Augustus introduced such story-tellers for

[1] See R. Ellis, Proleg. to Ovid, *Ibis*, p. xxxvi.

[2] C.I.L. III, 30–66.

[3] *Aeluros* is the conjecture of Brodaeus accepted by all recent editors except Buecheler. The Mss. have *illicaeruleos* (*P*) and *illic caeruleos* (ω), the latter adopted by Buecheler. But we know nothing of a reverence for sea-fishes among Egyptians, whereas cats and dogs are often mentioned together as objects of their worship.

[4] See Crusius, Pauly-Wiss., II, 670 ff.

the entertainment of his guests (Suet. 74). The word ἀρεταλόγος is probably connected with ἀρετή (ἀρεταί = deeds of valor), not with ἀρετός, 'agreeable,' as some have supposed.

17. ăbicit: in compounds of *iacio* Ovid (*Pont.* II, 3, 37)—if *abici*, the reading of *M*, is accepted—was the first to treat the initial *i* as a vowel; later poets vary in their usage.[1] **vera**: cf. 8, 188.

18. Laestrygonas atque Cyclopas: see note on 14, 20.

20. Cyaneis: the Symplegades at the entrance to the Pontus, through which the Argo safely passed, are here identified with the Πλαγκταί of *Odyss.* XII, 61. Munro (in Mayor) pointed out that the dative *Cyaneis* represents 'the whole cliffs of which the *saxa* are the component parts.' **et**: see § 125, *f.* **utres**: thus Odysseus received the winds from Aeolus; cf. *Odyss.* X, 20 ff.

21. Circes: the transformation of the sailors into swine by the enchantress is described in *Odyss.* X, 237 ff., but Elpenor is not mentioned in that connection.

23. populum Phaeaca: on the use of substantive as adjective, see § 47, *b*.

24. sic aliquis: on ellipsis, see § 138, *b*.

25. Corcyraea: Homeric Phaeacia was identified with Corcyra (Corfu).

26. Ithacus: cf. 10, 257 (note); 14, 287; Verg. *Aen.* II, 104 *hoc Ithacus velit.* **nullo sub teste**: Val. Fl. VII, 418 and Stat. *Silv.* V, 3, 227 *te sub teste*; cf. Plin. *Ep.* IV, 13, 11 *sub ea condicione* for *ea condicione*.

27. consule Iunco: according to a military diploma of October 11, 127 A.D., L. Aemilius Iuncus and Sex. Iulius Severus were consuls in that year. Not long after that date this satire must have been written; see §§ 10, 30 and note on 13, 17.[2]

28. calidae . . . Copti: 6, 527 f. *calidaque . . . a Meroe.* Coptos was in the upper Thebaid a short distance south of Tentyra.

29. cothurnis: 6, 506, 634; 7, 72; see note on 8, 191.

30. a Pyrrha: 'since Adam and Eve'; cf. 1, 84; Mart. X, 67, 1 *Pyrrhae filia.* **syrmata**: see note on 8, 229. **volvas**: see note on 10, 126 and on the mood, § 113, *a*. But the ideal character of the clause is a sufficient warrant for the subjunctive (potential); see G.-L § 605, R.1.

31. tragicos: 6, 643 *tragicis.* **accipe**: see § 140, *a*.

33. finitimos: Ombos and Tentyra are too far apart to justify the use of this term. If the story is based on fact at all, it is likely that Juvenal, having heard of such a religious feud, selected the names of two towns

[1] L. Müller, *De Re Metr.*[2], p. 291.

[2] C.I.L. III, p. 874. The use of *nuper* in 2, 29 of the reign of Domitian warns against interpreting too strictly here.

whose antagonistic beliefs were well known.[1] **vetus atque antiqua**: see note on 1, 132.

36. numina: the crocodile was hated at Tentyra, but reverenced at Ombos. **vicinorum**: on the cadence, see § 152.

39. alterius populi: in the absence of any definite statement it is uncertain which party was the aggressor. The only clue is in l. 28 *super*, which, if strictly interpreted, would point southward to Ombos as the scene of the conflict.

42. positis . . . mensis: Herod. II, 35 ἐσθίουσι δὲ ἔξω ἐν τῇσι ὁδοῖσι; Mela, I, 57 *cibos palam et extra tecta sua capiunt* (of Egyptians).

43. pervigilique toro: cf. 8, 158 *pervigiles . . . popinas* and see § 130.

45. quantum: = *ut*, probably first in Juvenal, though examples may be found later, e.g. *Edict of Dioclet.* I, 12 *quantum communis omnium conscientia recognoscit.* **notavi**: 'observed'; cf. 16, 35; Cic. *Verr.* v, 27. This use is common in Silver Latin, e.g. in Petronius (fifteen instances). On the biographical bearing of this verse, see p. IX, note 3 and introd. to this satire.

46. turba: the Egyptians in general. **Canopo**: see note on 1, 26.

47. adde quod: see § 140, *a*. **madidis**: 6, 297 *madidumque Tarentum;* Plaut. *Most.* 319 *ecquid tibi videor ma-m-ma-madere* ('ti-ti-tipsy')?

50. unguenta et flores: II, 122 *unguenta atque rosae* (at table).

51. hinc: contrasted with l. 48 *inde*. **ieiunum odium**: see § 130. **iurgia**: see note on 5, 26.

52. tuba: see note on 1, 169.

53. vice teli: Ovid, *Met.* XII, 381 f. *saevique vicem praestantia teli cornua.*

55. aut: on this corrective use (= *aut potius*), see G.-L. § 493, 2.

57. dimidios: see note on 8, 4. **alias**: 'changed'; cf. Plaut. *Amph.* 316 f. *alia forma esse oportet, quem tu pugno legeris.* SO. *Illic homo me interpolabit meumque os finget denuo.*

58. plenos . . . sanguine: see § 95.

61. quo: see note on 8, 9.

63. inclinatis . . . lacertis: i.e. in throwing; connect with *torquere*.

64. torquere: on the caesura, see § 147, *c*. **domestica**: 'close at hand.'

65. nec: see § 75. The heroes of Vergil and Homer, being of a larger growth, were able to hurl heavier missiles; for Turnus (note on 1, 162), cf. *Aen.* XII, 896 ff.; for Ajax, *Iliad*, VII, 268 f.; for Diomedes (note on 1, 53), *Iliad*, V, 302 ff.

[1] Cf. Plut. *Is. et Osir.* 72; for a discussion of the whole passage and its possible relation to Plutarch, see W. v. Christ, l.l. pp. 130 ff.

67. valeant emittere: on the construction, see § 116, *f*.

68. illis: i.e. *illorum dextris;* on the case, see § 83, *a*.

69. vivo . . . Homero: in Homer the contemporaries of the writer (*Iliad*, I, 272 *οἳ νῦν βροτοί εἰσιν ἐπιχθόνιοι*) are repeatedly contrasted with the heroes of his page; cf. Verg. *Aen.* XII, 899 f. *vix illud (saxum) lecti bis sex cervice subirent, qualia nunc hominum producit corpora tellus.*

70. malos . . . pusillos: the idea that human stature was decreasing was widespread in antiquity; cf. Plin. *N. H.* VII, 73; Gell. III, 10, 11. The equally absurd notion that the world grows worse still finds its advocates.

71. ridet et: cf. l. 74 *audet et* and see note on 10, 122. The god despises men's stature and hates their character.

72. a diverticulo: 'after the digression'; see introd. to *Sat.* 12.

74. pugnam instaurare: see note on 8, 158.

75. terga fugae celeri: Ovid, *Met.* X, 706 *non terga fugae, sed pugnae pectora praebet;* Sil. XIV, 560 *terga fuga celeri Libyae convertit ad oras.* **Ombis**: for *Ombitis;* adjectives of similar formation are 2, 106 *Bebriacus;* 6, 544 *Solymus;* 10, 257 *Ithacus.*[1]

76. umbrosae . . . palmae: on the use of the singular, see § 49, *a*.

78. ast: see note on 3, 69.

81. victrix turba: see § 47, *a* and on the caesura, § 147, *b*. **decoxit**: chosen with reference to *aeno;* with *veribus* supply *assavit.*

82. usque adeo: see note on 3, 84.

84. violaverit ignem: see note on 3, 20.

85. Prometheus: see note on 4, 133.

86. te: i.e. Volusius (l. 1), to whom the satire is addressed.[2]

87. mordere: on the infinitive with *sustinere*, see § 116, *e*.

89. ne quaeras: see § 77. **an**: see § 98, *a*.

90. gula: see note on 1, 140.

92. aliquid de sanguine: on the construction, see § 97, *d*.

93. Vascŏnĕs: in Strabo *Οὐάσκωνες*, but the *o* is usually short. The Vascones dwelt between the Pyrenees and the river Iberus in Spain. In the war with Sertorius their chief town Calagurris held out even after the death of the leader, and was finally subdued by famine, but not till they had eaten the bodies of some of their own people.[3] The fate of Calagurris, like that of Saguntum and Numantia, must have been a

[1] The *codex Bodl.* (§ 33) alone preserves the correct reading, *instantibus Ombis*, which was formerly accepted by all editors as the emendation of Mercier. In *P* the last two words are erased, and the other Mss. vary widely.

[2] So Lewis and Friedl.; but Kiaer, Mayor, Duff, and others think of the fire.

[3] Val. Max. VII, 6, ext. 3.

stock example in the rhetorical schools ; see notes on l. 114 and I, 16. **olim**: see § 67, *c*.

94. produxere animas: Avien. *Descr.* 1244 *producunt animas.* **res diversa**: 8, 215 f. *rem dissimilem.*

95. bellorumque ultima: 12, 55 *discriminis ultima ;* see § 86.

98. exemplum ... cibi: the construction seems to be *huius cibi exemplum, quod nunc agitur, miserabile esse debet.* If so, *sicut* has the force of *siquidem* as in Plaut. *Mil.* 974 ; see Lane, § 1946.[1] **dicta mihi gens**: see § 84, 157, and on the cadence, § 153, VII.

99. quidquid ... furor: see note on 13, 83.

100. ventris furor: 5, 94 *gula saevit ;* Verg. *Aen.* II, 356 f. *quos improba ventris exegit caecos rabies.*

102. famē: see note on 14, 84. **esse**: from *edo.*

107. Zenonis: the founder of the Stoic school, who taught that suicide was preferable to dishonor ; see § 17. **nec enim**: see § 73. **quidam**: Cynics as well as Stoics (note on 13, 122); yet both allowed the eating of human flesh in dire extremity.

108. pro vita: Sen. *Ep.* 70, 7 *non omni pretio vita emenda est.* **Cantaber**: used loosely as a type of the uncivilized Spaniard to indicate the Vascones, who dwelt near the Cantabri.

109. antiqui: see note on I, 132. Q. Caecilius Metellus, consul in 80 B C., conducted the campaigns against Sertorius (79–72 B.C.).

110. Athenas: synonymous with culture and literature ; cf. Val. Max. II, I, 10 *quas Athenas, quam scholam ... praetulerim ?*[2]

111. Gallia ... facunda: on oratory in Gaul, cf. 7, 148, 213 (note) and see note on I, 44. **Britannos**: Tac. *Agr.* 21 (of the beginning of Roman education in Britain) *qui modo linguam Romanam abnuebant, eloquentiam concupiscerent.*

112. rhetore: see note on I, 16. **Thyle**: the *ultima Thyle* of Verg. *Geo.* I, 30 and Sen. *Med.* 379, used for the 'ends of the earth,' as we use 'Greenland' or 'the North Pole.' Some island to the north of Scotland was probably meant.

114. Zacynthos: the form used by Vergil, Ovid, and other poets for Saguntum, the Spanish city which was reduced by Hannibal in 219 B.C. There is no good evidence that the famished citizens devoured the bodies of their comrades, but the transference of such a detail from cases like

[1] Buecheler, however, takes *cibi* as nominative and interprets *huius in Aegypto facinoris miserabile exemplum usus ciborum talis.* This is very awkward, and has the single advantage of preserving the natural force of *sicut.* On the use of *sicut* here, see S. G. Owen, Class. Rev., XII, 1898, pp. 440 f.

[2] This is probably not a reference to Hadrian's Athenaeum (founded 134 A.D.), as Dürr suggests in *Festschrift zu O. Hirschfelds sechzigstem Geburtstage*, 1903, p. 449.

that of Calagurris, which were otherwise parallel, was a matter of slight moment in the schools. Cf. Petron. 141 *Saguntini oppressi ab Hannibale humanas edere carnes.*

115. Maeotide . . . ara: all strangers were sacrificed on the altar of Artemis in the Tauric peninsula (Crimea); cf. Eur. *Iph. Taur.* 38 f.; Luc. I, 446 *Scythicae non mitior ara Dianae.*

117. ut iam: 'granted that for the time being.'

119. quis: see § 62, *a.* **modo:** temporal; cf. l. 27 *nuper;* 2, 160.

122. audere: with accusative, see § 82. **anne:** see § 98, *b.* **aliam:** 'in any more desperate way.' The valley of the Nile would be a barren waste but for the periodical rising of the river.

124. qua: sc. *rabie* from l. 126. **Cimbri:** see note on 8, 245. **Brittŏnĕs:** in Greek, Βρίτωνες; cf. Mart. XI, 21, 9 *Britŏnis.*

125. Sauromatae: 2, 1 *Sauromatas;* 3, 79 *Sarmata;* a warlike tribe dwelling N. of the Caucasus. **-que:** see § 80. **Agathyrsi:** earlier name for *Daci*, a people living N. of the Ister (Danube); cf. Herod. IV, 100; Verg. *Aen.* IV, 146; Plin. *N. H.* IV, 88.

126. saevit: see note on l. 100. **rabie inbelle:** on hiatus, see § 156.

127. fictilibus: scarcity of wood led to the use of such strange material; cf. *testae* (l. 128). **phaselis:** long, light boats, so called from their resemblance to a bean-pod (φάσηλος); cf. Catull. 4, 1; Verg. *Geo.* IV, 289 *circum pictis vehitur sua rura phaselis.*

133. haec: i.e. *mollissima corda,* 'sympathy.' On ellipsis, see § 138, *a.*

134. plorare: governs *squalorem;* see note on 13, 134. **iubet:** sc. *natura.*

135. squaloremque: the conjunction, which connects *rei* and *dicentis*, is often found in this position, especially in Horace; see G.-L. § 476 N. 3.[1] The accused and his friends often allowed hair and beard to go untrimmed in order to arouse sympathy; cf. Mart. II, 36, 3 *barba reorum.* **ad iura:** for the usual *in ius;* cf. 10, 87.

136. circumscriptorem: cf. 1, 46 f. *spoliator pupilli;* 10, 222; 14, 237.

137. incerta: his long hair makes him look like a girl; see notes on 3, 186 and 8, 128.

140. minor: 'too small for'; see § 57, *e.* Cf. Plin. *N. H.* VII, 69 *hominem prius quam genito dente cremari mos gentium non est.* **face dignus arcana:** any impurity of character or person made one ineligible for initiation in the mysteries of Demeter (Ceres) at Eleusis; cf. 6, 50 and see note on 14, 219. During the festival a torchlight procession from Athens to Eleusis took place.

[1] Kiaer, pp. 27 f. suggested *squalorem atque rei*, which was preferred by Mayor and adopted by Friedl.

142. aliena: Ter. *Haut.* 77 *homo sum: humani nil a me alienum puto.* **sibi**: see § 157. **mala**: on bucolic diæresis, see § 147, *d*.

143. mutorum: see note on 8, 56. **venerabile**: 'worthy of reverence.' See § 147, *b* and note on 12, 73 with foot-note.

144. divinorum: see § 88 and on Juvenal's theology, § 18.

145. pariendisque artibus apti: on the construction, see § 83, *b*, (1).[1]

147. cuius: see § 90. **prona et terram spectantia**: a rhetorical commonplace; cf. Sall. *Cat.* 1, 1 *pecora... prona atque ventri oboedientia;* Ovid, *Met.* 1, 84 ff. *pronaque cum spectent animalia cetera terram, os homini sublime dedit, caelumque videre iussit et erectos ad sidera tollere vultus.*

148. communis conditor: i.e. of both men and animals; cf. Sen. *Phoen.* 655 *ista mundi conditor posuit deus.*

149. animas... animum: Accius, trag. 296 (Ribbeck,[2] p. 201) *sapimus animo, fruimur anima: sine animo anima est debilis;* Non. p. 426, 28 *animus est quo sapimus, anima qua vivimus.* **mutuus... adfectus**: see notes on 12, 10 and 7, 218 *sensus communis.*

150. auxilium: on the order of words, see § 124, *e*.

151. trahere in populum: on the condition and evolution of primitive man, cf. 6, 1 ff.; 13, 38 ff.; Lucr. v, 1011 ff.; Cic. *Inv.* 1, 2.

153. laribus: see note on 3, 110.

155. collata... fiducia: i.e. *collatorum fiducia;* cf. 13, 93, 226; see § 130.

157. dare signa tuba: see note on 1, 169. **defendier**: an archaic form of the present infinitive passive which occurs also in Lucr., Catull., Verg., and other poets; see § 42. In early Latin it is used as a rule only to form an iambic ending at the middle or close of the verse.[2]

158. turribus: Lucr. v, 1440 *iam validis saepti degebant turribus aevum.*

159. maior: sc. than among men; cf. Hor. *Epod.* 7, 11 f. *neque hic lupis mos nec fuit leonibus, numquam nisi in dispar feris;* Plin. *N. H.* VII, 5 *leonum feritas inter se non dimicat, serpentium morsus non petit serpentes.*

160. cognatis: *feris* (gloss *p*). **maculis**: ablative of respect with *similis.*[3] Others take *cognatis maculis* together as dative.

161. leo: on the order, see § 122.[4] **nemore**: *in* omitted; see § 91.

163. Indica tigris: see note on 10, 158. **pacem**: Sen. *Ep.* 95, 31

[1] The correct reading *pariendis* is found only in *cod. Bodl.* and *cod. Urbinas;* in *P* the first three letters cannot be read, and *pω* have *capiendis.*

[2] See E. Hauler, Ter. *Ph.* p. 63.

[3] So Meinertz, l. l. p. 32 and Friedl.; but Lewis and Duff hold the other view.

[4] On *leoni... leo, aper... apri* and such combinations, see G. Landgraf, A.L.L. v, 174.

non pudet homines...bella gerere...cum inter se etiam mutis ac feris pax sit.

165. ast: see note on 3, 69. **letale:** poetic for *mortiferum.*

166. parum est: it is not enough...but his body must also be devoured (ll. 170 ff.). **cum:** concessive.

167. coquere: Luc. VI, 405 *coxit fornacibus aera.* **vomere:** connected with *marrae* and *sarcula* also in 3, 311.

168. primi: when the use of metal was first discovered. **extendere:** for *excudere*, calling attention to the length of the weapon.

171. crediderint: the subject is *qui* implied in *quorum;* a similar case is Tibull. I, 3, 66. On the mood, see § 136, *a.*

173. Pythagoras: see note on 3, 229. **abstinuit:** cf. 14, 98 f.[1]

SATIRE XVI

THE ADVANTAGES OF MILITARY LIFE

Countless advantages belong to the soldier who is attended by good fortune (ll. 1–6). If a civilian is assaulted by a soldier, he dare not prosecute before the centurion; for all the soldiers are hostile and civilian witnesses are afraid to appear (ll. 7–34). Instead of the tedious delays of civil courts, the soldier can have an immediate settlement of his disputes (ll. 35–50), and he is the only man who can control his possessions while his father lives (ll. 51–60).

The genuineness of this fragment has often been denied from the times of the scholiast to our own. But it is quoted as genuine by Servius and Priscian, and in both style and content is not unworthy of Juvenal.

1. praemia: the technical term for the rewards of a soldier honorably discharged; cf. *Res Gest. Div. Aug.* 3, 31 *milit(ibus, qu)ós emeriteis stipendís in sua municipi(a remis)i, praem(ia n)umerato persolví;* Suet. *Aug.* 17 *praemia et missionem poscentium.* Here, however, as in l. 35, it is practically the same as *commoda* (l. 7). **Galli:** the persons addressed in *Sat.* 11–16 are unknown.

2. nam: the emphasis on *felicis* makes the connection clear. **castra:** the soldiers of the praetorian guard, which was quartered just outside the city walls (note on 10, 95), received twice the pay of the legionaries and were discharged after sixteen years of service; cf. ll. 25 ff; Tac. *Ann.* I, 17, 9.

[1] The reasons why Pythagoreans abstained from meat are given by Plut. περὶ σαρκοφαγίας, pp. 997 E and 998 C; cf. Porphyr. *De Abstin.* II, 28; III, 1 (see Nauck's Index, p. 221).

3. excipiat: optative subjunctive. **porta**: sc. *castrorum*.

4. sidere: see note on 7, 195. **fati ... hora benigni**: 6, 577 f., 581; C.I.L. VI, 19055, 10 *set celerat quo nos fata benigna vocant.*[1]

5. Veneris ... Marti: in 2, 31, a typical pair of lovers.

6. Samia: in the island of Samos, Juno (Hera) was especially revered; cf. Verg. *Aen.* I, 15 f. *quam Iuno fertur terris magis omnibus unam posthabita coluisse Samo.* See § 142.

7. commoda: see note on l. 1. **communia**: i.e. of all soldiers. All the advantages mentioned in ll. 1–60 are of this kind.

8. haut: see note on 11, 17. **ne**: the clause would naturally be consecutive, but the idea of design intrudes; cf. Liv. XL, 15, 6 *ita me gessi, ne tibi pudori ... essem.* **togatus**: see note on l. 33 *paganum.*

9. dissimulet: *ut* is understood; cf. 13, 36; 9, 70 *ut dissimules.*

10. excussos ... dentes: 3, 301 *paucis cum dentibus inde reverti.*

12. relictum: i.e. in its socket; cf. 6 B, 2 (p. 41).

13. Bardaicus ... calceus: 'the soldier's boot' for the soldier himself; cf. l. 24 *caligas* and see note on 3, 322. The Bardaei or Vardaei were a tribe of Illyricum. **iudex**: predicate.

The legal procedure here referred to is known only from this satire, which is not the best kind of source for such information. The praetor, before whom the complaint is laid, seems to have appointed a centurion to preside over a military court for such cases.[2]

14. grandes ... surae: other centurions who compose the *iudices;* cf. 14, 195 and see note on 14, 194. **subsellia**: cf. l. 44.

15. Camilli: M. Furius Camillus was regarded as the founder of the Roman military organization; cf. Liv. V, 2, 1.

16. vallum ... extra: on anastrophe, see § 126. According to a decision of Hadrian *milites (non) avocandi sunt a signis vel muneribus perhibendi testimonii causa* (*Digest.* XXII, 5, 3, 6).

18. derit: see note on 3, 303.

20. cohors: sc. *praetoria;* see note on l. 2. **tamen**: even though a just verdict should be rendered by the military court.

21. curabilis: 'yielding to treatment,'[3] i.e. 'easy to bear.' The penalty is for the soldier *curabilis* but for the civilian *gravior quam* (the original) *iniuria.*[4]

23. mulino: a type of stupidity, as now of obstinacy; cf. Catull. 83, 3

[1] See Harkness, Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc., XXX, 1899, p. 75.

[2] J. Dürr, l. l. p. 448, gives reasons for regarding Hadrian as the author of this regulation.

[3] This is a regular use of *curabilis* in late Latin: see examples in Mayor.

[4] So Weidner and Friedl., but Mayor renders *curabilis*, 'requiring medical treatment, and therefore leaving the civilian in worse condition than he was before.

mule, nihil sentis. Similarly *asinus* and English 'ass.' **Vagelli**: see note on 13, 119.

24. duo: 'only two.' **caligas . . . clavorum**: see notes on 3, 248, 322.

25. procul: the distance, though not really great, will serve as an excuse for unwilling witnesses and supporters; see note on l. 2.

26. Pylades: i.e. *amicus;* see § 51.[1] **molem . . . ultra**: see § 126. **aggeris**: see note on 5, 153.

28. excusaturos: see § 118, *d.* **non sollicitemus**: see § 77.

29. da testem: see note on 3, 137. **audeat**: as protasis; see § 107.

30. vidi: of a witness also in 7, 13.

31. barba . . . capillis: see note on 4, 103.

33. paganum: 'civilian,' in contrast to *miles;* cf. Tac. *Hist.* I, 53, 5 *inter paganos corruptior miles;* Plin. *Ep.* VII, 25, 6; Suet. *Aug.* 27.

34. fortunam: 'possessions'; see note on 14, 328. **pudorem**: 'honor'; see note on 8, 83. On the caesura, see § 147, *b*.

35. praemia: see note on l. 1. **notemus**: see note on 15, 45.

36. sacramentorum: the military oath used for the service; cf. Tac. *Hist.* I, 5 *miles urbanus longo Caesarum sacramento inbutus.*

37. campum . . . ademit: for a similar injustice, cf. 14, 145 (note).

38. sacrum . . . saxum: Sen. *Phaed.* 528 f. *nullus in campo sacer divisit agros arbiter populis lapis.* The stones (*termini*) which marked the boundaries of property were under the protection of the god Terminus.

39. puls annua libo: at the *Terminalia*, which was celebrated each year on February 23, the *termini* were crowned with garlands, and cake and bloodless sacrifices were offered; cf. Ovid, *Fast.* II, 641 ff. *Termine, sive lapis, sive es defossus in agro stipes . . . te duo diversa domini de parte coronant binaque serta tibi binaque liba ferunt.* For *puls*, see note on 14, 171.

40. non reddere nummos: see note on 13, 16.

41. ligni: see notes on 1, 25; 13, 136, 137 (almost the same verse).

42. qui lites inchoet annus: = Serv. *Aen.* II, 102 *annus litium* = Sen. *Ep.* 18, 1 *dies rerum agendarum* = Plin. *Ep.* IX, 25, 3 *rerum actus*, i.e. the time of year when courts are sitting. In the press of judicial business at that time each must await his turn.[2]

44. subsellia: on which the *iudices* sit; cf. l. 14.

45. sternuntur: the cushions are placed in position and the pleaders

[1] See Sonny, A.L.L. IX, p. 73; Sutphen, Am. Jour. Phil., XXII, 1901, p. 257.

[2] Wlassak in Pauly-Wiss., I, 332 ff. Mayor, however, rendered: 'we must wait a year for the beginning of the hearing—not of our own individual suit, but of the whole nation's litigation.'

are ready to begin, when the case is still further postponed. **ponente lacernas:** the *causidicus* must appear before the court in his toga; see § 44 and note on 1, 27.

46. Caedicio et Fusco: these names are found also in 13, 197 and 12, 45. **micturiente:** owing to his excitement; see § 45.

47. pugnamus harena: cf. 7, 173 *pugnam;* Plin. *Ep.* VI, 12, 2 *in harena mea, hoc est apud centumviros.* On the metaphor, see § 127.

48. ast: see note on 3, 69. **balteus:** the band which ran over the left shoulder and from which the sword was usually suspended.[1] Cf. Eng. 'baldric,' which is usually connected with *balteus.*

50. res atteritur: see note on 3, 24. **sufflamine:** in 8, 148 literally the drag or clog on a carriage wheel.

51. testandi ius: the absolute control of his earnings (*castrense peculium*) was in the hands of the young soldier even while his father was still alive. The same privilege was in late Roman law extended to other classes also.[2]

54. Coranum: the name was probably suggested by Hor. *Sat.* II, 5, 57 *captatorque dabit risus Nasica Corano,* where the circumstances are somewhat similar.[3]

56. tremulus: see § 114, *b* and note on 10, 198. **captat:** see note on 3, 129. **favor:** Hor. *Epist.* II, 1, 9 f. *non respondere favorem speratum meritis.*[4]

57. sua dona: 'due rewards.'

58. ducis: the emperor; see note on 4, 145. On the case, see § 89.

60. phaleris: these together with *torques* and *armillae* were the *dona militaria* conferred on the centurion or private soldier for valor or distinguished service; see note on 11, 103.[5]

The sentence is incomplete: how much of the satire is lost it is impossible to determine. The absence in *P* of the usual colophon (*explicit liber quintus*), which concludes each of the preceding books, as well as the appearance of the Ms., makes it probable that in its original form it contained more of the satire than we now possess.[6]

[1] Soldiers in active service regularly wore the sword in this way, if we may trust the reliefs on the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius.

[2] Roby, *Rom. Priv. Law*, I, p. 175; Leonhard in Pauly-Wiss., III, 1773.

[3] Friedl. in accordance with his theory of Juvenal's use of proper names thinks of Coranus as a contemporary of the satirist; see § 24.

[4] *Favor* is Ruperti's accepted correction of *labor* (*P*ω).

[5] See commentators on Pers. 3, 30 *ad populum phaleras.*

[6] See § 28; Buecheler, Rhein. Mus., XXIX, p. 636 and in Friedl. p. 114; Beer, *Spicil. Iuv.*, pp. 46 f.

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